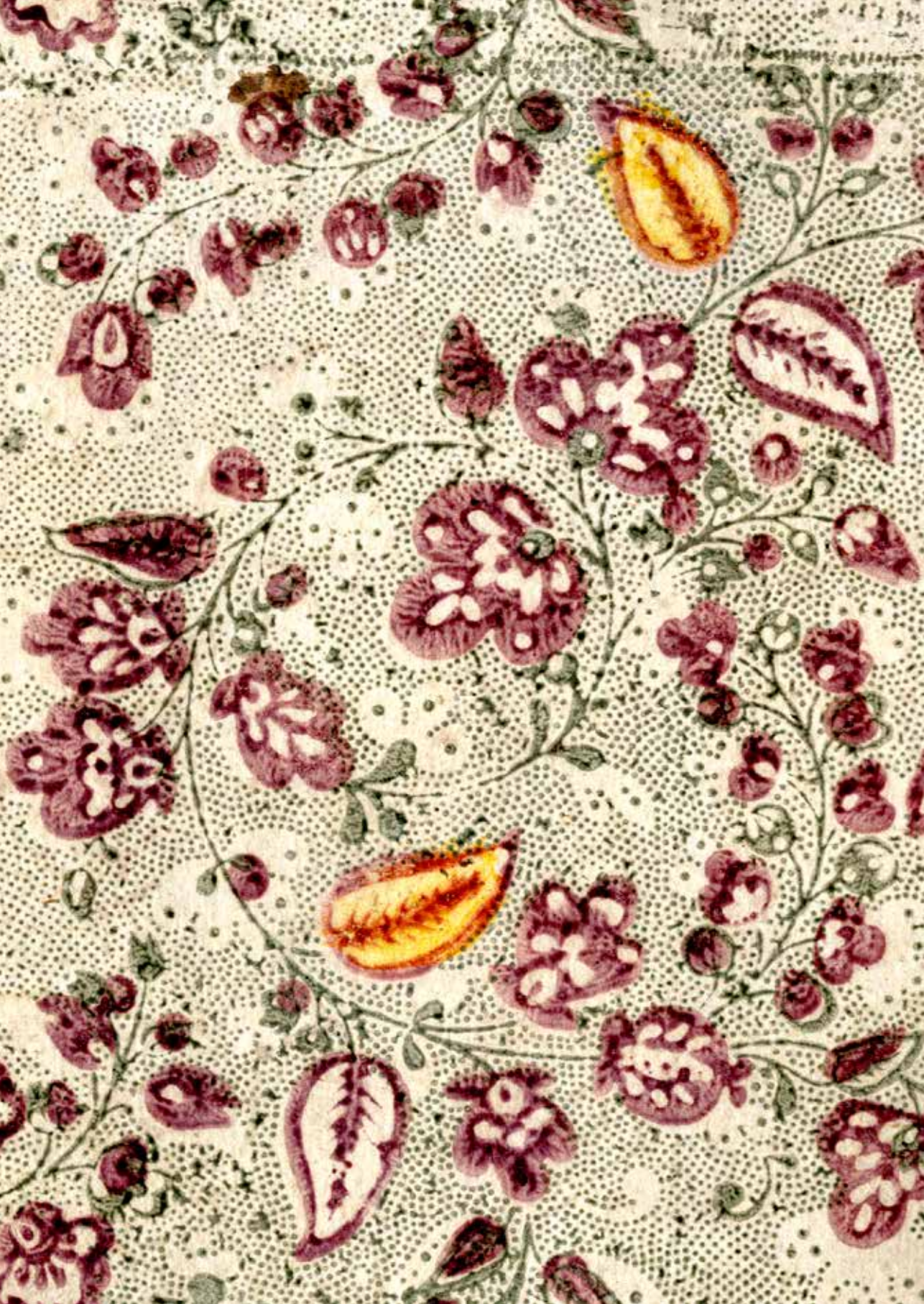
The *Thousand and one nights* and Orientalism in the Dutch Republic, 1700-1800



The *Thousand and one nights* and Orientalism in the Dutch Republic, 1700-1800

Antoine Galland, Ghisbert Cuper and Gilbert de Flines

Richard van Leeuwen and Arnoud Vrolijk

Amsterdam University Press

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Introduction

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Orientalism was in vogue in various forms in Western Europe. This trend of cultural exoticism had been triggered by Europe's increased interaction with Oriental societies – from the unfamiliar empires of China, Japan and Mughal India to the more conversant Muslim realms of Persia and the Ottomans. Following in the tracks of explorers and traders, European scholars and diplomats sought to solidify relationships with these foreign regions and to enhance their knowledge of non-European languages and cultures. The Portuguese, Dutch and English trading companies were not only instruments for exploiting new economic opportunities in the East; they were also carriers of commodities and ideas that changed fashions, tastes and intellectual debates in Europe. In the course of two centuries, Europe's encounter with the Orient decisively transformed the direction of European intellectual and cultural history, providing new visions of the world and of Europe's place in human civilisation.[1]

This new taste for the Orient can also be perceived in the field of literature. Although Orientalism had been an important element in European literature from the Middle Ages onwards, it was in the eighteenth century in particular that references to the Orient became more prominent and structurally incorporated. This was the century of the so-called Oriental tale, the type of short story set in the Arab world or the more distant East and usually marked by a distinct, exotic ambience. The taste for Orientalism was, of course, partly aroused by the growing communication between Europe and the Orient and by Europe's keen interest in travel accounts and information concerning Eastern societies. It was also stimulated, however, by what is commonly considered to be one of the greatest literary events of the period: the appearance of the first European translation of the *Thousand and one nights*. The French Orientalist Antoine Galland's version of the Arabic collection of tales was published in twelve volumes between 1704 and 1717. The work, entitled *Mille et une nuit*, became an instant success; it gained a wide readership in France and was soon re-translated into all the main European languages. It is no exaggeration to say that Galland's version of the *Thousand and one nights* not only established a European 'tradition' of the *Nights* but also significantly contributed to the shaping of the literary landscape in Europe in the eighteenth century.[2]

1 There are many studies about the cultural impact of the European expansion towards the East. Here we will only mention two: Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the making of Europe*, vol. 2, *A century of wonder*, book 2-3, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994; Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*, München: Beck, 2013.

2 For Galland, see Mohamed Abdel-Halim. *Antoine Galland: sa vie et son oeuvre*, Paris: A.G. Nizet, 1964; Jean-Paul Sermain, *Les Mille et une nuits entre Orient et Occident*, Paris: Desjonquères, 2009. For literary

The first European version of the *Thousand and one nights* was particularly popular in France, England and Germany, where it inspired a vogue of literary Orientalism that continued throughout the eighteenth century and that could still be perceived in the literary trends of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In other countries such as the Dutch Republic, similar tastes emerged, although perhaps less prominently. The Orientalist traditions and their literary components in France and Britain have received ample attention from scholars, but Orientalism in the Netherlands has hardly been touched upon. There has also been limited interest in the reception of the *Thousand and one nights* in the Netherlands and the impact of the work on Dutch literature and culture.[3] This book aims to fill, at least partly, this apparent lacuna and to present some new findings concerning the reception of the *Nights* in the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century and, more specifically, the first translation of Galland's *Mille et une nuit* into Dutch.

In the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic was economically and intellectually at the centre of Europe. As we will see, developments in literature and culture in the Low Countries during this period cannot be dissociated from the wider European context. The country's prominence within Europe was particularly reflected in the field of printing and publishing. Amsterdam, The Hague and Leiden were the centres of European publishing, not only because their printing techniques were advanced and refined but also because the relative degree of freedom of expression in the Netherlands allowed foreign authors to publish works that would have been banned in their own countries. Moreover, communities of religious refugees from France and England had settled in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, forming links between the Netherlands and European intellectual networks. Although the economic role of the Netherlands declined in the eighteenth century, its prominent position in the field of publishing and the international dimension of its cultural and intellectual life persisted at least until 1750, when French censorship was relaxed. The international orientation of Dutch literary and intellectual networks can also be perceived in the way in which the *Thousand and one nights* was received in the Netherlands In this book we will show that also in the domain of Orientalism, the Dutch Republic was integrated into European networks and dynamics.[4]

Orientalism, see, among others: Srinivas Aravamudan, *Enlightenment Orientalism: resisting the rise of the novel*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

3 The only study of Dutch literary Orientalism in the eighteenth century is: Christien Dohmen, *In de schaduw van Scheherazade: oosterse vertellingen in achttiende-eeuws Nederland*, Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2000; see also Richard van Leeuwen, *De wereld van Sjahrazaad*, Amsterdam: Bulaaq, 1999.

4 Inger Leemans & Gert-Jan Johannes, *Worm en donder: geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur, 1700-1800: de Republiek*, Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2013.

Although the starting point of this study is the publication history of the *Thousand and one nights* in the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century, we will also sketch a broader picture of Dutch Orientalism and Oriental studies and their international connections in the field of literature. But before we turn our attention to the Dutch Republic, we feel it is incumbent on us to give a brief introduction to the *Thousand and one nights*, and a summary of the circumstances of the appearance of the Galland translation and its significance for European Orientalism.

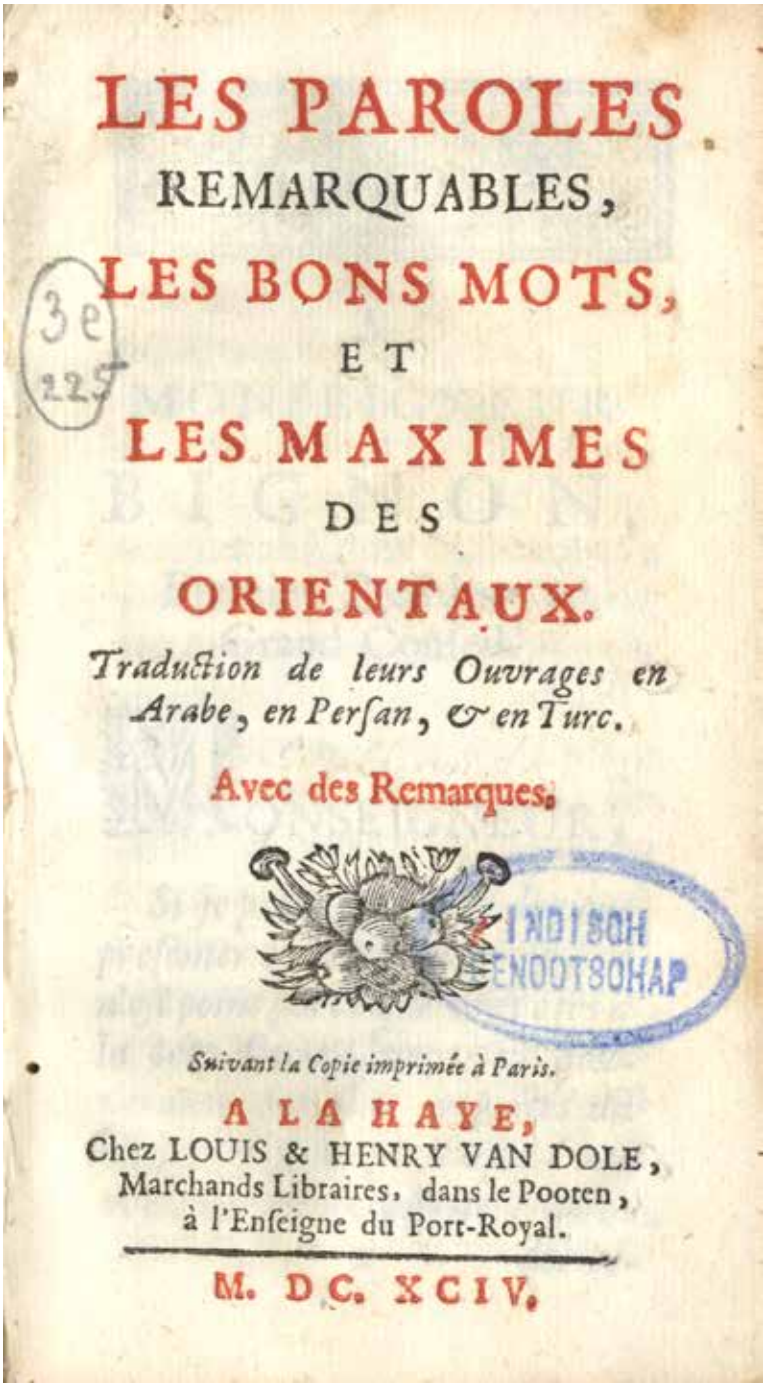
1 The *Thousand and one nights* and literary Orientalism in Europe

Antoine Galland (1646-1715) was a French Orientalist and classicist who travelled to the Ottoman Empire on two occasions as a member of French diplomatic missions. During his stay in Istanbul and Smyrna he collected manuscripts and books, and his travel journals are still an important source of historical information, especially about scholarly circles and the book market. Back in France, Galland became the custodian of an important private collection of historical coins, and in 1701 he was accepted as a member of the prestigious Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Médailles. In 1709 he was offered the chair in Arabic studies at the Collège Royal (now Collège de France). His scholarly efforts were directed at the field of numismatics, which at that time belonged to the core interests of historical research, but he also published a collection of Arabic maxims and proverbs[1] and a treatise about coffee. Apart from this, he edited the voluminous and important encyclopaedia *Bibliothèque orientale* which was compiled by Barthélemy d'Herbelot (1625-1695) and appeared posthumously in 1697. He completed a translation of the Qur'an, but the manuscript was lost after his death.[2]

Galland always considered his work on the *Mille et une nuit* as a sidetrack to his more scholarly occupations. He received a medieval Syrian manuscript of the collection of stories from a friend in Aleppo and started to translate it in his spare time. The first volume of the translation, which appeared in Paris in 1704, was such a success that the publisher, the widow of Claude Barbin, pressured him to provide more material, upon which Galland bemoaned the irony that the audience appreciated these literary trivialities more than his more serious academic publications. After completing the translation of the manuscript, which

1 [Antoine Galland], *Les paroles remarquables, les bons mots, et les maximes des Orientaux. Traduction de leurs ouvrages en Arabe, en Persan, et en Turc, avec des remarques. Suivant la copie imprimée à Paris*, La Haye: Louis & Henry van Dole, 1694.

2 On Galland's journeys to the Levant, see Antoine Galland, *Voyage à Constantinople* (*1672-1673*), publié et annoté par Charles Schefer, préface Frédéric Bauden, Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2002, vol. 1, pp. 183 ff. *et passim*; Antoine Galland, *Le voyage à Smyrne: un manuscrit d'Antoine Galland* (*1678*), ed. Frédéric Bauden, Paris: Cahandeigne, 2000, pp. 60, 122, 230. About Galland's life, see Mohamed Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland, sa vie et son oeuvre*, Paris: A.G. Nizet, 1964, and 'Correspondance d'Antoine Galland: édition critique et commentée', Thèse complémentaire pour le Doctorat ès-Lettres, Université de Paris, 1964; and Antoine Galland, *Le journal d'Antoine Galland* (*1646-1715*), eds Frédéric Bauden & Richard Waller, 4 vols, Leuven: Peeters, 2011-2016; see also Ulrich Marzolph & Richard van Leeuwen (eds), *The Arabian nights encyclopedia*, 2 vols, Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2004; see also Robert Irwin, *The Arabian nights: a companion*, Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1994.



LES PAROLES
REMARQUABLES,
LES BONS MOTS,
ET
LES MAXIMES
DES
ORIENTAUX.

Traduction de leurs Ouvrages en Arabe, en Perſan, & en Turc.

Avec des Remarques.

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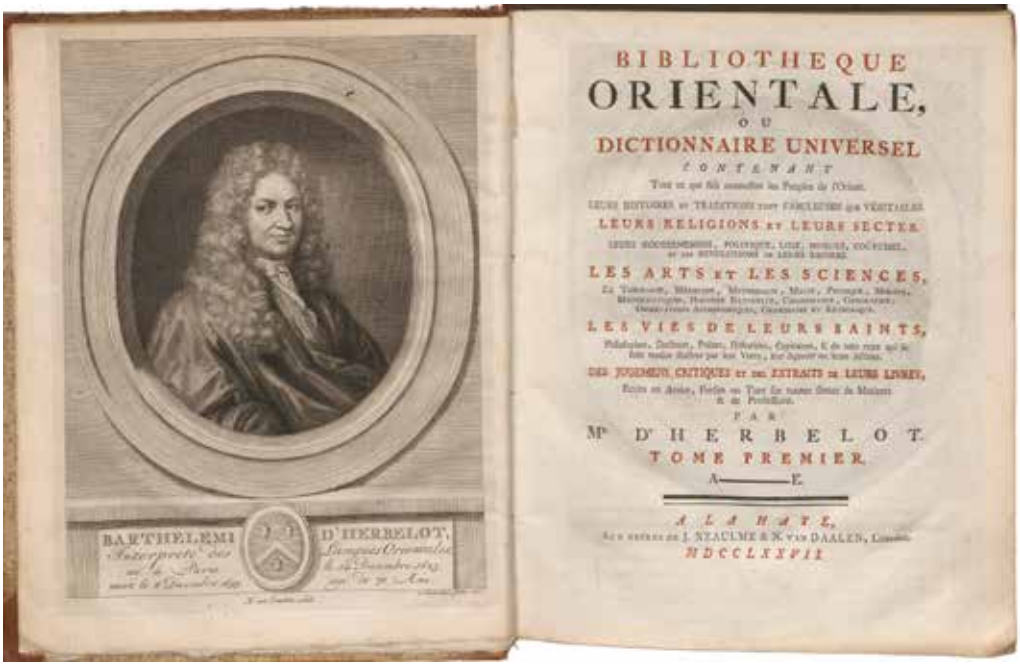
[Antoine Galland], *Les paroles remarquables*, Paris 1694, re-edition, The Hague 1694

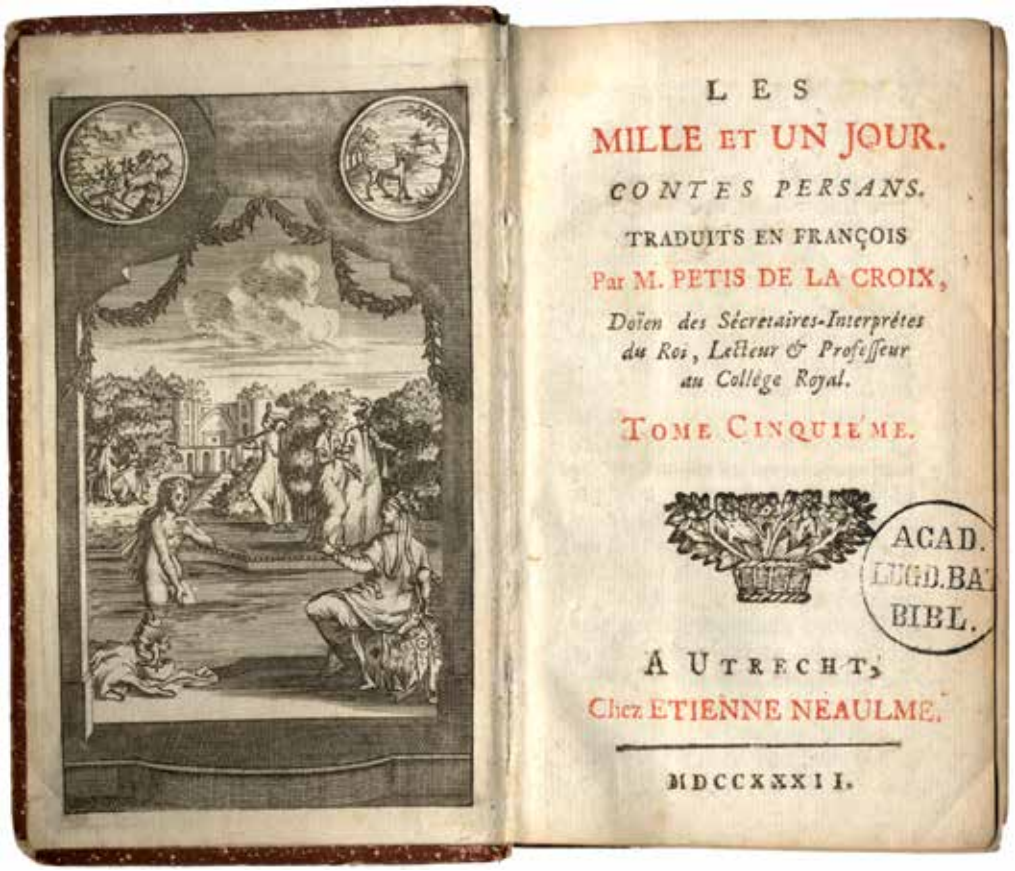


Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, published by Galland in 1697, re-edition, The Hague 1777

comprised only 282 nights, Galland looked for supplementary manuscripts kept in the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris and added these stories to his translation. Moreover, he added stories he had heard from a certain Hanna Diyab, a Syrian cleric who was introduced to him by a mutual friend. Finally, a fellow Orientalist, François Pétis de la Croix (1653-1713), handed some translations of Turkish tales to the publisher which were inserted without Galland's prior knowledge in the *Mille et une nuit*.[3]

This recapitulation of how Galland's *Mille et une nuit* was compiled, which is essentially considered as the foundation of the European *Thousand and one nights* tradition, indicates what a shaky agglomeration of materials from various sources it was. Neither the publisher nor Galland himself cared to inform the reader of this rather haphazard procedure, and the *Mille et une nuit* became the standard version of the *Nights* for a long time to come. Galland has often been criticised for his lack of scholarly diligence in his translation, but it should be kept in mind

3 For a reconstruction of Galland's procedure, see his journals and Marzolph & Van Leeuwen (2004); see also Sermain (2009); Abdel Halim (1964); Georges May, *Les Mille et une nuits d'Antoine Galland ou le chef d'oeuvre invisible*, Paris: PUF, 1986; Sylvette Larzul, *Les traductions françaises des* Mille et une nuits; *étude des versions Galland, Trébutien et Mardrus*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996; Muhsin Mahdi, *The Thousand and one nights*, vol. 3, Leiden: Brill, 1995, pp. 27-34.



François Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jour*, re-edition, Utrecht 1732

that his procedure was not uncommon in the eighteenth century and that his translation is generally quite accurate. Anyhow, the public was enchanted and the *Mille et une nuit* was a commercial success that was soon translated into English, German and Dutch.

Interest in Galland's translation inspired scholars and writers to explore the field of Oriental and pseudo-Oriental literature. The aforementioned Oriental scholar Pétis de la Croix published a collection of Persian tales and later compiled his famous *Mille et un jour*. This was allegedly a collection of Persian stories taken from a manuscript provided by a Persian shaykh, but it was later discovered to be a misrepresentation. It was in fact a translation of a random selection of Turkish tales preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale, edited to conform with the format of the *Thousand and one nights*, with a narrative frame and embedded stories.

It became no less popular than its original model and was translated into all the major European languages.[4]

Other, less famous collections of a similar kind were the *Contes orientaux* (1745) by Comte Anne Claude Philippe de Caylus (1692-1765)[5] and *Mêlanges de littérature orientale, traduits de différens manuscrits turcs, arabes et persans de la Bibliothéque du Roi* (2 vols, 1770) by Denis Dominique Cardonne (1721-1783). Cardonne, who worked as a translator in Istanbul and became professor of Turkish and Persian at the Collège Royal, also published an enlarged edition of Antoine Galland's *Contes et fables indiennes de Bidpaï et de Lokman. Traduites d'Ali Tchelebi-ben-Saleh, auteur turc. Ouvrage commencé par feu M. Galland, continué et fini par M. Cardonne* (3 vols, 1778); and *Extraits des manuscrits arabes dans lesquels il est parlé des évènemens historiques relatifs au règne de Saint Louis* (1819).[6] The collections of Caylus and Cardonne contained a variety of tales translated from various Arabic and Turkish manuscripts, which give a picture of the literary taste in the Ottoman Empire but do not in themselves represent coherent literary works.

It is remarkable that although several prominent scholars were working with material of the *Thousand and one nights* or similar texts in Arabic, Turkish or Persian, no serious research was conducted into the provenance of these stories and the philological aspects of the available manuscripts. Apparently, tales of this kind were not deemed to be of sufficient significance for scholarly interest and were only seen as entertainment. After Galland's success, European travellers and scholars continued to search for 'complete' Arabic manuscripts of the *Nights* in Damascus and Cairo. This popularity among Westerners may have contributed to the appearance of several manuscript copies in Egypt and Syria in the second half of the eighteenth century, some of which are still preserved in Western libraries.[7]

One of the scholars interested in manuscripts of the *Thousand and one nights* was the Austrian Orientalist Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856). On his journey to Egypt he purchased a 'complete' manuscript of the work, which was, however, lost in shipwreck. Later he acquired an identical manuscript which he translated into German. Both this text and the translation were subsequently

4 François Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours: contes persans*, eds Christelle Bahier-Porte & Pierre Brunel, Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011; Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire du prince Calaf et de la princesse de la Chine*, ed. Paul Sebag, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000; Paul Sebag, 'Sur deux orientalistes français du XVIIe siècle: F. Pétis de la Croix et le sieur de la Croix', *Revue de l'occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 25 (1998), No. 1, pp. 89-117.

5 Comte de Caylus, *Contes*, ed. Julie Bloch, Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005; Simone Gougeaud-Arnaudeau, *Le comte de Caylus (1692-1765): pour l'amour des arts*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010.

6 Frédéric Hitzel (ed.), *Istanbul et les langues orientales*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996.

7 For a history of scholarly research into the *Nights*, manuscripts, texts and further references, see Marzolph & Van Leeuwen (2004).

lost, but a French translation of the German text had been made by François-Guillaume Stanislas Trébutien (1800-1870) which was published in 1828 under the title *Contes inédits des Mille et une nuits*. In the course of the nineteenth century, more manuscripts and materials were collected, and gradually a European 'branch' of text editions and translations of the *Thousand and one nights* developed which interrelated with the Arabic tradition in interesting ways. Scholarly research into the textual history of the *Nights* and the relationships between the various manuscripts was not undertaken until the end of the nineteenth century, when Orientalists such as Hermann Zotenberg (1836-1894), the Dutch scholar Michaël Jan de Goeje (1836-1909) and Duncan Black Macdonald (1863-1943) speculated about the philological aspects of the work.[8]

In this period of two hundred years, the corpus of *Thousand and one nights* texts edited by Oriental scholars had increased considerably, and as a consequence the philological study of this material had become only more and more complex. As explained above, the work of Galland, who compiled his version from various sources, served as an example for later scholars and literati. Copyists, writers, travellers, scholars, forgers and deceivers not only added all kinds of material to the corpus during the course of time, they also often claimed to have found the 'original' and 'complete' text, although the actual provenance of their material usually remained obscure. These mystifications added to European interest in the work and resulted not only in numerous 'authentic' versions but also in all kinds of adaptations and rewritings. This habit of treating the *Thousand and one nights* as a general framework for material associated with Oriental storytelling has continued to the present day.

The arbitrariness to which the *Thousand and one nights* was subjected in the realm of European literature and scholarship was partly inspired by the nature of the work itself. After all, the text consists of a framing story in which it is explained how Shahriyar, the mighty king, is cuckolded by his spouse. Thereupon, in order to prevent similar humiliations in the future, he decides to marry a virgin every evening and have her executed in the morning. Just before the reservoir of young virgins is depleted, Shahrazad, the daughter of the vizier, voluntarily offers to marry the king. After making love, Shahrazad begins to tell a marvellous story, which induces the king to keep her alive to hear the remainder of the story the following night. In this way Shahrazad succeeds in postponing and ultimately preventing her execution, and she lives happily with the king forever after. This frame serves as a container

8 Ibid.; see also Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes*, 12 vols, Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1892-1922, vols 4-7, 1900-1903; Aboubakr Chraïbi (ed.), *Arabic manuscripts of the Thousand and one nights: presentation and critical editions of four noteworthy texts: observations on some Osmanli translations*, Paris: Espaces & Signes, 2016.

for a true avalanche of stories told by Shahrazad, which are, obviously, intended to amaze the king – and the reader – and hold his attention for as long as possible.[9]

The stories contained in the frame are of very diverse genres and types, and it seems, at least in the later versions, that the Arabic compilers, like Galland, inserted material from various sources. Although there are some references to a work called the 'Thousand and one nights' or 'Thousand nights' in the Arabic literary tradition, these are too scarce and too brief to obtain an idea about the nature and contents of an original version of this work. The manuscript that was used by Galland, which dates back to approximately the middle of the fifteenth century, is the oldest substantial text that we possess.[10] However, as observed above, this text contains only 282 nights and is therefore considered 'incomplete'. The later manuscripts compiled in the eighteenth century were supplemented with all kinds of material to complete the 1001 nights, but it is still unclear how these versions relate to an 'original' version of the *Nights*, if at all. Since later manuscripts, editions and translations tended to follow these examples and include material from a great variety of sources, the textual history of the *Nights* became increasingly and inextricably complex.

The fluidity of the corpus of the *Thousand and one nights* is enhanced by the great diversity of the inserted stories. Shahrazad unleashes a seemingly endless stream of stories of all possible kinds or types. The texts mostly contain a core part which is fairly consistent in the various versions, but even this part includes love stories, adventure stories, fables, magical stories, etc. The later supplements incorporated moral tales, romances of chivalry, magical journeys, erotic stories, apocalyptic stories, etc., apparently without a care for the coherence of the work. The corpus thus became an amalgam of all kinds of material, some of which probably derived from an 'original' *Thousand and one nights*, while others belonged to other collections that may have been older than the 'original' *Nights*. European editors and translators in their turn augmented the corpus with stories from Persian, Indian or Italian sources or with fables written by themselves.

Partly because of this confusion, it is still not possible to present a faithful reconstruction of the textual history of the *Thousand and one nights*. It is assumed that the work was modelled after Sanskrit examples, through a Persian intermediary, and that the first Arabic versions appeared in Egypt and Baghdad in the eighth to tenth centuries. Of these versions, no manuscripts have been preserved. The earliest substantial fragment is the abovementioned Syrian manuscript used by Galland. In the eighteenth century, an Egyptian 'branch' of the collection was established

9 For summaries of the stories of the *Thousand and one nights*, a discussion of their contents and bibliographical references, see Marzolph & Van Leeuwen (2004).

10 Heinz Grotzfeld, 'The age of the Galland manuscript of the *Nights*: numismatic evidence for dating a manuscript?', *Journal of Arabic and Islamic studies* 1 (1996-1997): 51-64.

that eventually became the modern standard version and which was printed by the Bulaq press in Cairo in 1835. Other early editions include the second Calcutta edition edited by William Macnaghten (1793-1841) and printed in four volumes by the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta in 1839-1842 and the so-called Breslau edition edited by Maximilian Habicht (1775-1839), which appeared in 1825-1838 in what is now Wrocław, Poland. In the meantime, Galland's translation was retranslated into the main European languages. The first translation of the Egyptian 'complete' manuscript, in a shortened and bowdlerised version, was made by the English ethnologist Edward William Lane (1801-1876; English translation 1838-1840).[11]

The ambiguity of the corpus of the *Thousand and one nights*, and of Galland's translation in particular, probably contributed to its popularity as an inexhaustible source of stories. It certainly inspired many authors to conceive stories of the same type, often presented as authentic Oriental works. It should be noted here that Oriental motifs had been an integral part of European literature since medieval times. Various cycles of chivalric romances, such as those of Chrétien de Troyes and the *Amadis* series, began to include as standard components episodes in which the heroes travelled to the Eastern Mediterranean coasts with their magical atmospheres and hostile knights. It is no coincidence that works such as the Catalan romance *Tirant lo Blanc* (1490) by Jose Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba, and Cervantes' masterpiece *Don Quijote* (1605/15) – both works regarded as standing at the threshold of 'modern' European literature – have strong Oriental elements. At the turn of the eighteenth century it was commonly believed that storytelling, or literary fiction in general, had originated in the Orient and were a special characteristic of the Arabs and Persians. This conviction paved the way for the reception of the *Thousand and one nights*, which was immediately recognised as a work of unbounded fantasy and as a sublime exponent of the art of storytelling and of the Oriental imagination.

Among the authors who took inspiration from the *Mille et une nuit* for their own literary efforts was the French popular writer Thomas-Simon Gueullette (1683-1766). He produced several collections of fabulous exotic tales set in time frames, for instance *Les Mille et un quart-d'heure, contes Tartares* (1715) and *Les sultanes de Guzarate, contes Mogols* (1732). Although their literary value is limited, these collections – presented as authentic Oriental material – became hugely popular in France and abroad. A more sophisticated author who used Oriental themes and motifs and who referred to the *Mille et une nuit* was Claude Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon (1707-1777), a pioneer in the development of the French and European novel. His libertine work *Le sopha* (1742) recounts the adventures of Amanzéï, a courtier whose soul has been transformed by the God Brahma into a sofa which is used in various sordid love affairs. His soul is finally set free when two innocent virgins are united on the sofa in pure and

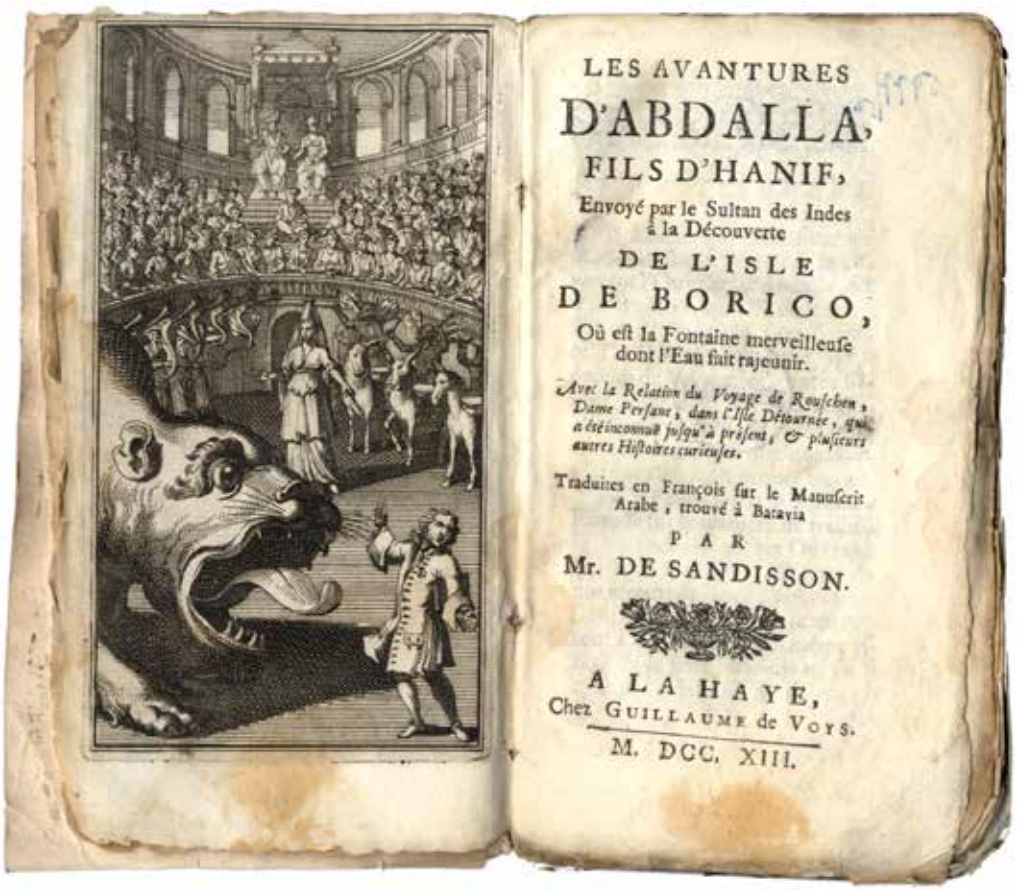
11 For an overview of translations into European languages, see Marzolph & Van Leeuwen (2004).

Crébillon fils, *Le Sopha, conte moral*, new edition, 'à Pékin' [i.e. Paris] 1749

unadulterated love. The novel criticises the licentious habits of the French nobility and is modelled after the *Mille et une nuit*. His satirical work *Tanzaï et Néadarné* (1734) was also influenced by the vogue inspired by the *Mille et une nuit*.[12]

Apart from these rather frivolous pastiches, which became a trend particularly in France, the model of the *Mille et une nuit* was combined with the popular genre of the travelogue, which provided the stories with a realistic setting and gave the author the opportunity to comment on the differences between European and Oriental

12 For French literary Orientalism, see Marie-Louise Dufrenoy, *L'Orient romanesque en France (1704-1789)*, 3 vols, Montréal: Beauchemin (vols 1-2), Amsterdam: Rodopi (vol. 3), 1946-1975; Pierre Martino, *L'Orient dans la littérature française au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1906; see also Richard van Leeuwen's *Anthology of the Thousand and one nights in European literature*, online via https://www.kent.ac.uk/ewto/projects/anthology/index.html, accessed 8 November 2018.



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FILS D'HANIF,
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DE L'ISLE
DE BORICO,
Où eſt la Fontaine merveilleuſe
dont l'Eau fait rajeunir.

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PAR
Mr. DE SANDISSON.

A LA HAYE,
Chez GUILLAUME de VOYS.
M. DCC. XIII.

[Jean-Paul Bignon], *Les avantures d'Abdalla*, re-edition, The Hague 1713

societies, using embedded tales to add either allegorical illustrations or an element of fantasy. The first example of this kind is *Les avantures d'Abdalla, fils d'Hanif*, written by abbé Jean-Paul Bignon (1662-1743) and published in 1712-1714 in two parts under the pseudonym 'Mr. De Sandisson'. The book was allegedly based on 'an Arabic manuscript found in Batavia' (now Jakarta, Indonesia). The story is about Abdalla, who receives the assignment to go in search of a rejuvenating source on the island of Borico. On his way there, Abdalla meets his fellow traveller Almoraddin. They rescue some Indian ladies and visit a Persian lady who tells them stories. A peculiar story is about a visit to 'Topsy-turvy Island' where everything is the opposite of earthly phenomena. It is ruled by fairies who perform strange occult rituals. Another example is the well-known novel in letter form by Montesquieu (1689-1755), *Lettres persanes* (1721; 2nd enl. ed. 1754), containing the fictional letters of two Persian gentlemen travelling to Europe and philosophising about the conditions in various countries. Other famous examples

are *Candide ou l'optimisme* (1759) by Voltaire (1694-1778) and *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) by Jonathan Swift (1667-1745). Both are rather acrimonious satires of French and British societies respectively, and both contain various references to the *Mille et une nuit.*

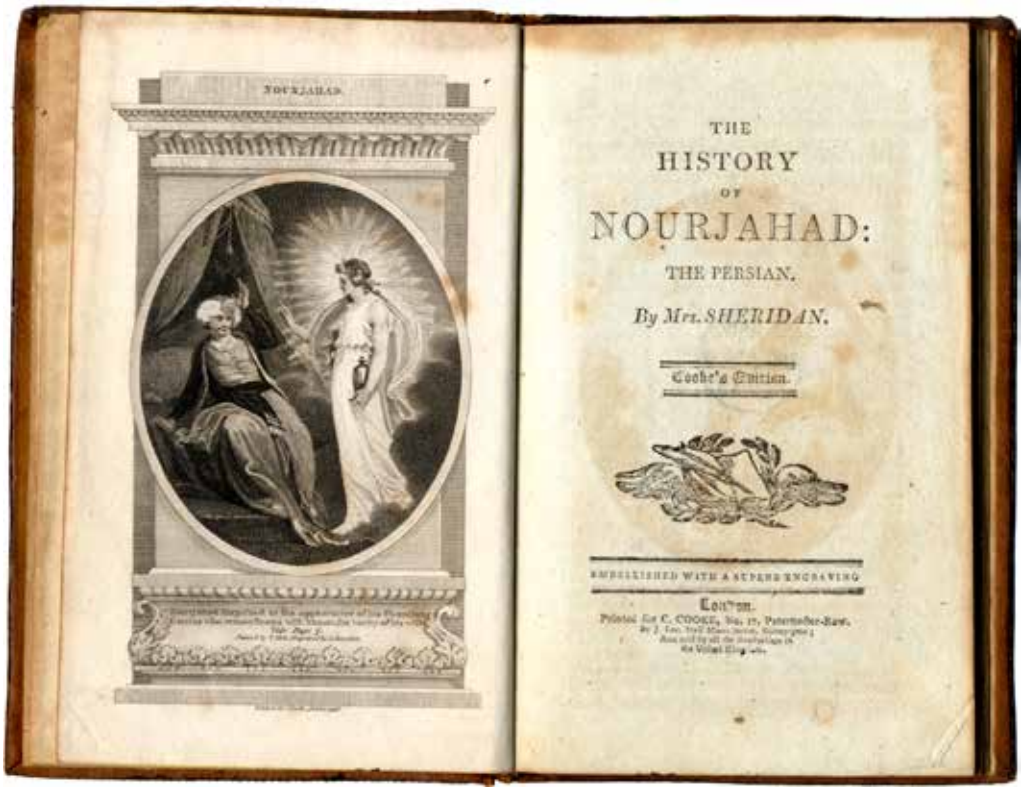
According to Raymond Schwab, one of the biographers of Antoine Galland, the French translation of the *Thousand and one nights* was crucial for the development of the spirit of the Enlightenment in French literature, both because of its exoticism and its clear style. Indeed, Enlightenment philosophers such as Diderot and Voltaire made ample use of the models provided by the *Mille et une nuit* for their philosophical stories and novels. Voltaire mentions Shahrazad's tales in his novel *Zadig* (1747), and Diderot shaped his satirical/erotic/philosophical novel *Les bijoux indiscrets* (1742), about a bet waged between a sultan and his main concubine, in the format of the *Thousand and one nights*. The trend of combining adventurous tales, the motif of the journey, and philosophical and scientific speculations culminated in the ambitious novel *Manuscrit trouvé à Saragosse* (1805 and later) by the Polish/French author Jan Potocki (1761-1815). This book, about a Flemish prince from the Southern Netherlands travelling through the Sierra Nevada and becoming the victim of a mysterious spell, consists of a temporal frame of sixty days containing inserted stories and intellectual meditations. It has been described as a 'European' *Thousand and one nights*.[13]

In England as well, the Oriental tale came into vogue, although the often excessive fantasy of the French tales was criticised by some. Authors such as Samuel Johnson (1709-1784; *Rasselas*, 1759), Frances Sheridan (1724-1766; *The History of Nourjahad*, 1767, 2nd ed. 1798),[14] and John Hawkesworth (1715-1773; *Almoran and Hamet*, 1776) used the format of the Oriental fable for their intellectual and philosophical explorations, either to reflect on the ideal society or to speculate about moral dilemmas and the human condition. In Germany, the *Thousand and one nights* was introduced into the literary canon by the Late Enlightenment philosopher and writer Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813). Wieland began his literary career writing pastiches of the *Thousand and one nights* and in 1786-1789 published the collection of fairy tales *Dschinnistan*, which consisted of edited material from the French collection *Le Cabinet des fées* and some original stories inspired by Galland's *Mille et une nuit*. He also wrote romances that were partly modelled after ancient Greek works and partly after the *Thousand and one nights*, such as *Don Sylvio von Rosalva* (1764) about a prince who becomes infatuated with Oriental stories, and *Idris und Zenide* (1767).[15] Wieland's *Der goldne Spiegel oder*

13 Raymond Schwab, *L'Auteur des Mille et une nuits: vie d'Antoine Galland*, Paris: Mercure de France, 1964; Richard van Leeuwen, 'The *Manuscrit trouvé à Saragosse* and the *Thousand and one nights*', in: F. Rosset (ed.), *Entretiens sur le* Manuscrit trouvé à Saragosse, *Études de lettres* 292 (2012), pp. 133-149.

14 Frances Sheridan, *The history of Nourjahad: the Persian*, London: C. Cooke, [1798].

15 C.M. Wieland, *Idris und Zenide:* [*Ein romantisches Gedicht in fünf Gesänge, 1767*], in *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 17. Leipzig: Georg Joachim Göschen, 1796. Steel engraving by Johann Friedrich Bause (1738-1814) after Johann Heinrich Ramberg (1763-1840).



J. Saunders, Nourjahad admonished by his guardian jinni, frontispiece in Frances Sheridan, *The history of Nourjahad*, 2nd edition, London [1798]

die Könige von Scheschian (1772), in the mirror-for-princes genre, is constructed as a sequel to the *Thousand and one nights*, presenting an ideal society in a complex frame story. As an exponent of the Enlightenment, Wieland condemned the genre of the fairy tale as prone to *Schwärmerei*, or excessive fantasy, but he acknowledged its value as instructive and educational material. He introduced the *Thousand and one nights* to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who, according to his diaries, read the work in several phases of his life and used its narrative strategies and motifs in his novels and fairy tales.[16]

The influence of the *Thousand and one nights* can also be perceived in the initial phases of the trend of what is usually called Gothic literature or fantastic literature.

16 Ros Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients: fictions of the East in England 1662-1785*, Oxford: University Press, 2005; Muhsin Jassim Ali, *Scheherazade in England: A study of nineteenth-century criticism of the Arabian nights*, Washington DC: Three Continents Press, 1981; Pike Conant, *The Oriental tale in England in the eighteenth century*, New York: Octagon Books, 1966; Todd Kontje, *German Orientalisms*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Christoph Martin Wieland, *Idris und Zenide*, re-edition, Leipzig 1796

This genre – based on suspense, mystery, conspiracy and a touch of horror – became popular in the second half of the eighteenth century and paved the way for various forms of Romanticism. Horace Walpole (1717-1797), famous for his novel *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), also wrote a collection of Oriental tales. German authors such as Maximilian Klinger (1752-1831) and Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853) used figures and motifs from the *Nights* for their dark, dramatic stories and novels, such as *Die Geschichte Giafars des Barmeciden* (1792) and *Abdallah* (1797), respectively. Of particular importance are the works of two authors who personified the trend of black romanticism: Jacques Cazotte from France (1719-1792) and the Englishman William Beckford (1760-1844). Both authors used Arabic manuscripts of the *Thousand and one nights* as their starting point. Cazotte rewrote a translation of a Parisian manuscript of the *Nights* made by a Syrian scholar named Dom Denis Chavis, supplemented the collection with his own stories, and published it as *Suite des Mille et une nuits*. Beckford learned some Arabic and translated some Arabic stories from a manuscript in his possession but became famous for his pastiches of the *Nights*, which were suffused with a strong sense of eroticism (mainly homo-eroticism) and sensuality. His most famous work is *Vathek* (1786), an extravagant fantasy about a caliph indulging in earthly pleasures and selling his soul to the devil. This book, first published in French, became a cult novel for devotees of Gothic fiction.[17] Both Beckford and Cazotte evoked a world of spells and demons, horror and inescapable fate. This trend continued into the nineteenth century as exemplified by such authors as E.T.A. Hoffmann (1776-1822) and Théophile Gautier (1811-1872) – both of whom acknowledged the influence of the *Thousand and one nights* – and in English literature by Washington Irving (1783-1859), Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849) and George Meredith (1828-1919).[18]

The eighteenth century marked the emergence and popularity of didactic literature for children, adolescents and adults alike. The most famous adaptation of *Thousand and one nights* tales for children was the collection *The Oriental moralist, or the beauties of the Arabian nights entertainments, accompanied with suitable reflections adapted to each story* from 1790, compiled by the Reverend J. Cooper (pseudonym of Richard Johnson, 1733/4-1793), which was reprinted until modern times. Another collection of educational tales for children, all of the Oriental type

17 William Beckford, *Vathek*, Londres: chez Clarke, New Bond Street, 1815. Frontispiece: engraving by Isaac Taylor junior (1787-1865) after Isaac Taylor (1759-1829).

18 Saree Makdisi & Felicity Nussbaum (eds), *The Arabian nights in historical context: between East and West*, Oxford: University Press, 2008; Aravamudan (2012); Richard van Leeuwen, 'The Thousand and one nights and the formation of genre: the case of Jacques Cazotte', in: Christian Szyska & Friederike Pannewick (eds), *Crossings and passages in genre and culture*, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2003, pp. 53-63; idem, 'Religion and Oriental tales in the 18th century: The emergence of the fantastic genre', *Francofonia* 69 (2015), pp. 35-56.

Isaac Taylor (Sr & Jr), engravings in William Beckford, *Vathek*, re-edition, London 1815

and referring partly to the *Nights*, was *Palmblätter* (1786) by August Jacob Liebeskind (1758-1793), which was translated into all major European languages.[19]

To conclude this brief survey, mention should be made of the tradition of the popular theatre in France and England. This tradition was initially inspired by the Italian *Commedia dell'Arte* and found its setting in the fairs of Paris. In the eighteenth century it was usually given the name *Arlequinade*, which became a term for farcical plays satirising the authorities and bourgeois attitudes in general. Such plays were often banned by the government. The stories on which these plays were based were for the most part simple, but in the course of the eighteenth century the taste for Orientalism began to permeate them. Aladdin with his magic lamp,

19 Kristyn Nicole Coppinger, 'The *Arabian nights* in British romantic children's literature', unpublished MA thesis, Florida State University, 2006, online via https://fsu.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/fsu:181696/datastream/PDF/view, accessed 8 November 2018.

for example, became a familiar figure on the stage. In England a similar tradition is the Christmas pantomime, which, after the popularity of the *Thousand and one nights*, began to include from the eighteenth century onwards such figures as Aladdin and Sindbad. The rather exuberant farces and comedies indulged in baroque, exotic settings and costumes and in vulgarity and mirth at the expense of bourgeois taste. An important author who wrote several *Arlequinades* and who co-operated with Pétis de la Croix in the editing of his Oriental translations was Alain-René Lesage (1668-1747), who became famous for his picaresque novel *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*, which appeared in three volumes between 1715 and 1735. His work shows that the *Thousand and one nights* was a rich source of inspiration not only for high-brow literature but also for more popular tastes.[20]

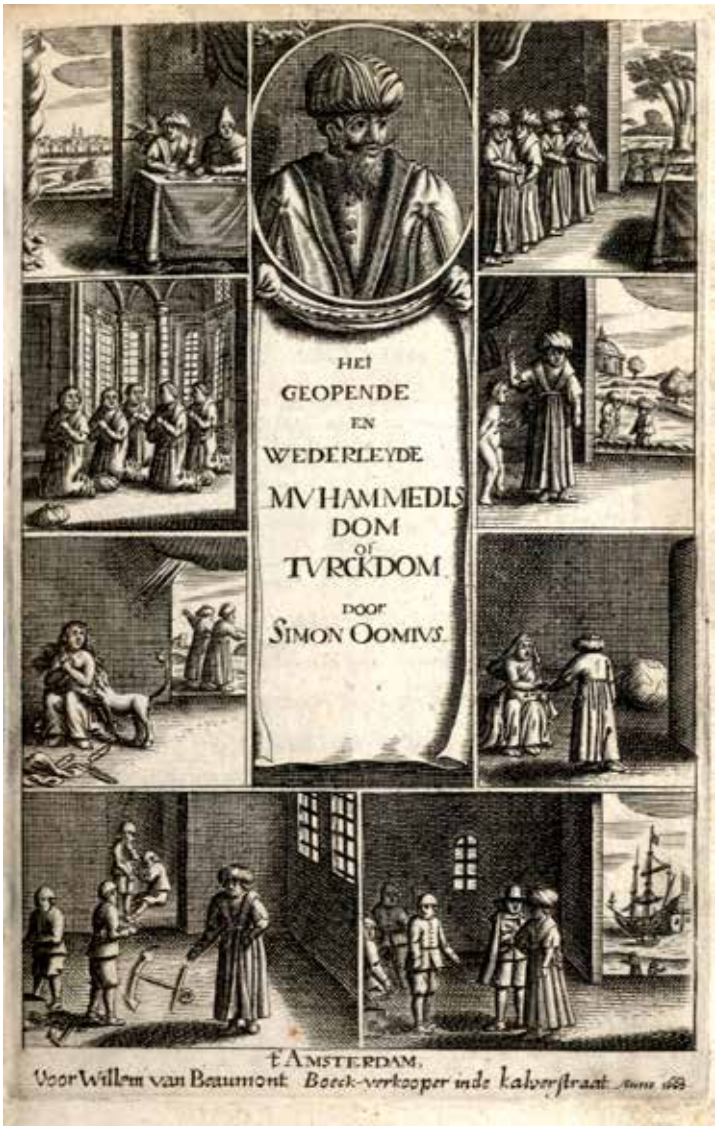
The overview above shows how deeply the *Thousand and one nights* had penetrated into European culture during the course of the eighteenth century. Its influence can be found in various genres and literary types and often contributed to the development of these genres, some of which were still in a nascent phase at the time, such as the novel and various kinds of novellas. The vogue of Orientalism in France, England and, to a lesser extent, Germany set the scene for the emergence of Dutch Orientalism, which nonetheless had its own particular roots and contexts.

20 Dominique Lurcel, *Le théâtre de la foire au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1983; Raymond Mander & Joe Mitchenson, *Pantomime: a history in pictures*, London: Peter Davies, 1973; André Blanc, *Le théâtre français du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris: Ellipses, 1998; Eugène Lintilhac, *Histoire générale du théâtre en France*, vol. 4, Paris: Flammarion, [1909].

2 Dutch Orientalism before 1700

Although he found some difficulty in obtaining a scholarly position, later in life Antoine Galland established himself as a well-respected academic in his position as professor of Arabic at the Collège Royal and as a numismatist. He regarded his translation of the *Nights* as a leisure activity and had mixed feelings about the fact that the French aristocratic public was much more impressed by his fairytales than by his learned tomes on antique coins and inscriptions. In the Dutch Republic, too, the history of Orientalism as a cultural phenomenon is closely linked to the development of academic institutions. In the seventeenth century universities had a well-defined role in Dutch society. The sons of respectable families followed a core curriculum mainly based on Classical literature and philosophy, followed by a training for a career in one of the free professions: the Protestant ministry, medicine or the law. Teaching, tuition and publishing were exclusively in Latin. Modern languages did not come into the equation until the very end of the eighteenth century, when chairs were founded for Dutch; chairs for French and English would follow suit only in the nineteenth century.

In Oriental studies slightly different rules applied. From the sixteenth century onwards, Hebrew was taught almost exclusively in connection with theology, but Arabic held its own as part of the humanist canon until the dawn of the eighteenth century. During the seventeenth century the University of Leiden played a leading role in the field of Arabic and Oriental studies in the Dutch Republic. In 1613 a chair in Arabic studies was established at Leiden, the fourth in Europe after Catholic Rome and Paris and Protestant Heidelberg. The first incumbent was Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624), who acquired fame particularly for his Arabic grammar (1613), which became the standard work in Europe for learning and studying Arabic and which remained in print until well into the nineteenth century. His pupil and successor Jacobus Golius (1596-1667) not only edited Arabic texts and published an Arabic dictionary (1653) but also acquired more than two hundred Arabic manuscripts for the library of Leiden University. In addition, he assembled a private collection of equal size which is now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. In 1638 the German student Levinus Warner (c.1618-1665) arrived in Leiden to study Oriental languages under Golius. At the end of 1644 he left for Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, where he rose to the rank of *resident* or envoy to the Sublime Porte for the Dutch Republic. In his leisure time he assembled a collection of some 1,000 Oriental manuscripts, which he bequeathed to Leiden University upon his death in 1665. Together with the Golius collection, Warner's



Simon Oomius, *Het geopende en wederleyde Muhammedisdom of Turckdom*, Amsterdam 1663

manuscripts laid the foundation for the important Oriental collection of the Leiden University library.[1]

1 Arnoud Vrolijk & Richard van Leeuwen, *Arabic studies in the Netherlands: a short history in portraits, 1580-1950*, Leiden: Brill, 2014; Wilhelmina M.C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland*, Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1931. On Levinus Warner, see Arnoud Vrolijk, Jan Schmidt & Karin

Although Dutch Arabists largely confined themselves to philological pursuits, academics from other disciplines were actively engaged in religious debates with Islam. Scholars such as the eminent jurist Hugo Grotius and the Protestant theologian Gisbertus Voetius from Utrecht wrote assessments of 'Muhammedanism' and its relationship to Christianity, in which the struggle against the Ottoman Turks was a crucial religious-political issue. Grotius's tract *De veritate religionis Christianae* ('On the Truth of the Christian Religion') was even translated into Arabic by the English scholar Edward Pococke, and efforts were undertaken to distribute it in the Orient.

Outside academia the theological struggle against Islam was fought with perhaps even greater alacrity, though not necessarily informed by an intimate familiarity with its teachings. In 1663 a large reference work appeared by a Calvinist pastor from Kampen, Simon Oomius (1630-1706), entitled *Het geopende en wederleyde Muhammedisdom of Turckdom* ('Muhammedanism or Turkdom Explained and Refuted'). It presented an elaborate overview of the history and main doctrines of the Muslims, supplemented with an unequivocal refutation of Islam as a false religion and Muhammad as an impostor. Since Oomius knew no Arabic, his impressive study was based on contemporary material edited and translated by Dutch and English Oriental scholars. The book is a landmark in the development of a Protestant tradition of Orientalism, based on polemics against both Islam and Catholicism.[2]

At the bottom end of the market one finds such crude invectives against Islam as the *Historie van den oorspronck, geslacht, geboorte, opvoedinge, en leere des grooten valschen Propheets Mahomets* ('History of the origin, descent, birth, education and teachings of the great false Prophet Mahomet'), published in Amsterdam in 1627 (2nd ed. 1640). Anonymously translated from a sixteenth-century German pamphlet written by the Catholic preacher Henricus Cnustinus or Heinrich Knaust (1520-1580), it recycles the 'black legends' about Muhammad from early medieval times in which he is portrayed as a lecher and an epileptic who exploited his fits to prove that he was a true prophet. One of the engravings in the Dutch translation shows the iron coffin of Muhammad floating in the air in the 'church' of Mecca, the result of an ingenious fraud which included the use of strong magnets in the dome.[3]

Scheper, *Turcksche boucken: the Oriental collection of Levinus Warner, Dutch diplomat in seventeenth-century Istanbul,* Eindhoven: Lecturis, 2012.

2 Simon Oomius, *Het geopende en wederleyde Muhammedisdom*, Amsterdam: Willem van Beaumont, 1663, repr. Wijk en Aalburg: Landelijke Stichting ter Bevordering van de Staatkundig Gereformeerde Beginselen, 2010.

3 Henricus Cnustinus (Heinrich Knaust), *Von geringem herkommen, schentlichem leben, schmehlichem ende des Türckischen Abgots Machomets, vnd seiner verdammlichen vnd Gotsslesterlichen Leer,* [Nuremberg?, Johannes Petreius], 1542. ('On the lowly origin, shameful life and infamous end of the Turkish idol Machomet, and his pernicious and idolatrous doctrine'). On anti-Turkish literature in sixteenth-century

Des Turckſche Rijcx. 32
en tot Pulver verſmolten. Evenwel continueren noch hedensdaeghs de
hartneckighe Mahometiſten / upt d'upterſte Contrepen des Werelts /
derwaerts te repſen / met ſulcken moepte en arbept dat het niet te ghe-
looven is.
Het XII. Capittel.
Van Othoman de tweede Coninck der Sa-
racenen / en Calyph d'eerſte van die naem.
DE groote Wet Mahomet gheſtorven / en alſoo inder hoochten
opget cocken zijnde ontbrack de Saracenen een Coninck / dies ſy tot
dien ſtaet een vrient Maho ts vercooſen / die genaemt was Othoman,
en wiert Calyph by haer ghe mt / dat is te ſegghen Navolgher of
Erver /

Muslims adoring Muhammad's floating tomb in Mecca, in [Heinrich Knaust], *Historie van den oorspronck… Mahomets*, Amsterdam 1627, p. 23

94 MAHOMETS

hebt gy aan 't volk bevolen u, en uw moeder, als
twee goden, aan te bidden? Jesus sal antwoor-
den: Gelooft zy in naam, ik sal my wel wachten
van 't geen, dat niet is, te seggen. Gy weet, of ik
't gesegt hebt. Gy weet alles; gy weet het geen, dat
in myn ziel is, en ik weet niet het geen, dat in u is.
Ik heb niet anders gesegt, dan dat gy my geboden
hebt te seggen; te weten, Aanbid God, uw en myn
Heer. Ik ben 'er een getuyge af sedert de tyd dat ik in
de wereld geweest heb, sedert dat gy my hebt doen
sterven. Gy hebt op de handel van 't volk gewerkt.
Gy siet alles. Zo gy de menschen straft, zy zyn u
schepselen; zo gy hen vergeeft, gy sijt almachtig
en wys. God sal dan seggen: De goede werken sul-
len heden den vromen noot zyn. Zy sullen in 't Pa-
radys ingaan, daar veel vloeden vloeyen. Zy sullen
daar eeuwelyk, met zyn genade, in een seer groo-
te gelukzaligheid wonen. 't Koninkryk der hemelen
en der aarde behoort God toe, hy is almachtig.

Het Hoofdstuk der Dankzeggingen, be-
grypende honderd vyf en-zeventig
versen, te Medina ge-
openbaert.

Geloofden noemt dit herstooft deel der Dinen. Arme Geloofyn.

IN den naam van de goedertiere en barmhartige
God. Loof zy aan God, Schepper des hemels, en
der aarde, der duisternissen, en van 't licht. De ge-
nen, die niet in hun Heer geloven, zyn afgedwaalde.
Hy is 't, die u van 't slyk der aarde heeft gescha-
pen, en een gezette tyd met uw dooden vereyschte
gesteld. Gy twyffelt schroe daar aan, Hy is God in
de hemel, en op d'aarde. Hy weet de geheimenis
uwer harten, en al 't geen, dat gy openbaart.
Hy weet het goed en quaad, dat gy doet. Hy weet
dat zyn geboden aan de stedelingen van Mecha
geleert zyn, en dat zy hem verworpen hebben. Zy
hebben de bekende waarheid zorgen geschreven; maar
zy sullen om deze verachting gestraft worden.
Aanmerken zy wel hoe veel volken wy in de voor-
gaande

Fol. 94.

Casper Luyken, a Muslim at prayer, in André Du Ryer, *Mahomets Alkoran*, 7th edition, Leiden 1734, p. 94

At the same time, however, there was the beginning of a more scholarly and unprejudiced approach to Islam and the examination of original Arabic texts rather than anti-Muslim testimonies. This trend is epitomised by the French Qur'an translation by the consul André Du Ryer, the first ever in a modern European language. It was published in Paris in 1647 as *L'Alcoran de Mahomet* – the Prophet

Germany, see John W. Bohnstedt, *The infidel scourge of God: the Turkish menace as seen by German pamphleteers of the Reformation Era*, Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1968, p. 16. On the 'black legends' against the Prophet Muhammad, see, for instance, J.V. Tolan, 'European accounts of Muhammad's life', in: J.E. Brockopp (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Muhammad*, Cambridge: University Press, 2010, pp. 226-250, here pp. 228-232. On the anonymous Dutch translation, see Hans Theunissen, 'Barbaren en ongelovigen: Turcica in de Nederlanden 1500-1800', in: Hans Theunissen, Annelies Abelman & Wim Meulenkamp (eds), *Topkapı & Turkomanie: Turks-Nederlandse ontmoetingen sinds 1600*, Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1989, pp. 37-53, here pp. 39-40; Arnoud Vrolijk, 'Arabic studies in the Netherlands and the prerequisite of social impact: a survey', in: Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton & Charles Burnett (eds), *The teaching and learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, pp. 13-32, here pp. 22-25.

Sa'di, *Den Persiaanschen bogaard*, trans. Daniël Havart, Amsterdam 1688

Muhammad being generally regarded as the author of the Qur'an.[4] Only two years later, in 1649, no fewer than two pirated French re-editions were published in Amsterdam, probably intended for foreign distribution. In 1657 the Anabaptist Mennonite Jan Hendrik Glazemaker of Amsterdam (c.1619-1682), a professional translator, made a Dutch version entitled *Mahomets Alkoran*, which was to run through seven editions until 1734, surely a sign of lively interest among its Dutch readers.[5] Most later editions contain a frontispiece with the Prophet Muhammad as a dishevelled visionary, as well as six engravings by Casper Luyken (1672-1708), some of which repeat the image of Muhammad as a fraudulent epileptic.[6] The Dutch editions were supplemented by Thomas Erpenius's translation of a biography of Muhammad by the Arabic historian al-Makin or Elmacinus, as well as fragments from a sixteenth-century Latin translation of the Qur'an published in Basel by the Protestant scholar Theodor Bibliander.

Orientalism, trade and culture

The rise of Orientalism in the Netherlands cannot be dissociated from the highly successful mercantile expansion of the Dutch Republic in Asia. The Eastern trade contributed to the influx of large quantities of Oriental products and commodities, which created new tastes and fashions. The popularity of 'Chinoiseries' resulted in the setting up of an indigenous porcelain industry in Delft, and Eastern textiles decorated Dutch homes and instigated new trends in clothing. Dutch painters incorporated Oriental motifs in their works and even travelled to Persia and India to work for the imperial courts of the Mughals and Safawids: examples include

4 For studies on European Qur'an translations in general and that of André Du Ryer in particular, see, for instance, Alastair Hamilton & Francis Richard, *André Du Ryer and Oriental studies in seventeenth-century France*, London: The Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 91-118; Alastair Hamilton, 'The Quran in early modern Europe', in: Jef Schaeps, Kasper van Ommen & Arnoud Vrolijk (eds), *Oostersche weelde: de Oriënt in westerse kunst en cultuur*, Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2005, pp. 131-143; idem, *The forbidden fruit: the Koran in early modern Europe*, London: Middle East Institute, 2008 (The Hadassah & Daniel Khalili Memorial Lecture at SOAS); August den Hollander, 'The Qur'an in the Low Countries: early printed Dutch and French translations', *Quaerendo* 45 (2015), No. 3-4, pp. 209-239.

5 On Glazemaker, see Caroline Louise Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker, de zeventiende eeuwse aartsvertaler', in: *Uit de Republiek der Letteren: elf studiën op het gebied der ideeëngeschiedenis van de Gouden Eeuw*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967, pp. 206-261, here pp. 241-242.

6 P. v. Eeghen & J. Ph. van der Kellen, *Het werk van Jan en Casper Luyken*, 2 vols, Amsterdam: Frederik Muller & Co., 1905, vol. 1, pp. 300, No. *1561-*1566; Nel Klaversma & Kiki Hannema, *Jan en Casper Luyken te boek gesteld: catalogus van de boekencollectie Van Eeghen in het Amsterdams Historisch Museum*, Hilversum: Verloren, 1999, pp. 371-372, No. 1048-1053.

Hendrik Arentsz Vapoer (d. 1632), Isaac Koedijck (d. 1651) and Philips Angel (1616-c.1684), who were also representatives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC).[7]

A fascinating example of a Dutch VOC employee who totally immersed himself in Indo-Persian culture is Daniël Havart (c.1650-1724), who for thirteen years served at VOC posts on the Coromandel Coast and in Golconda, currently Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh. In Golconda he learned Persian from an Indian *munshi* or secretary named Shah Qasim and attained such proficiency in the flowery Persian epistolary style that he was able to write a little handbook on the subject entitled *De Persiaanse secretaris* ('The Persian secretary', Amsterdam, no date). In 1688 Havart published *Den Persiaanschen bogaard*, the first European translation of the *Bustan* or 'Fragrant Herb Garden', a book of verse on moral wisdom by the Persian poet Sa'di (d. 1292 CE).[8]

Dutch travellers, often religious missionaries, wrote path-breaking reports of their journeys to the Orient, particularly to Persia, India, the Indonesian archipelago and China. And, of course, the Dutch East India Company provided a channel for the transmission of knowledge of Oriental languages and the collection of exotic objects and biological specimens, which were studied in Leiden and Amsterdam. The printing industry in Amsterdam and The Hague became the distribution centre of knowledge about the newly explored regions for the whole of Europe.

Within this upsurge of interest in the societies of the East, the Levant played a crucial part. Contrary to current popular belief, the Levantine trade in textiles and other luxury products contributed more to the Dutch economy than the import of spices from Asia or the export of slaves to the Americas, especially after the

7 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'The artful embrace of Mughals and Franks, 1550-1700', *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010), pp. 39-83; see also Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Mogol-miniaturen door Rembrandt nagetekend', *De kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 32 (1980), pp. 10-40; Jozef Jennes, *Invloed der Vlaamsche prentkunst in Indië, China en Japan tijdens de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw*, Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1943; P.A. Leupe, 'Nederlandsche schilders in Persië en Hindostan in de eerste helft der 17e eeuw', *De Nederlandsche spectator* 1873, No. 33-34, pp. 260-266; see also: Axel Langer (ed.), *The fascination of Persia: the Persian-European dialogue in seventeenth-century art and contemporary art of Tehran*, Zürich: Scheidegger & Spiess; Museum Rietberg, 2013, which contains: Claudia Swan, 'Lost in translation: Exoticism in early modern Holland', pp. 100-117; Gary Schwartz, 'Between court and company: Dutch artists in Persia', pp. 152-169; Axel Langer, 'European influences on seventeenth-century Persian painting: of handsome Europeans, naked ladies, and Persian timepieces', pp. 170-237.

8 Daniël Havart published *Den Persiaanschen bogaard* under his initials 'D.H.' (Amsterdam: by Jan ten Hoorn, 1688). The manuscript is preserved at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, shelfmark 130 C 17. On Havart, see H. Terpstra, 'Daniel Havart en zijn *Op- en ondergang van Coromandel*', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 47 (1954): 165-189; Marion Peters, 'Daniel Havart, zijn boek en zijn grafschriften', in: *In steen geschreven: leven en sterven van VOC-dienaren op de Kust van Coromandel in India*, Amsterdam: Stichting Historisch Onderzoek in Woord en Beeld [etc.], 2002, pp. 65-83. For examples of the collaboration between Havart and Shah Qasim, see MS Leiden, University Library, Acad. 138, containing the Persian text and Latin translation of the *Gulistan* by Sa'di; see P. de Jong, *Catalogus codicum orientalium bibliothecae Academiae Regiae Scientiarum* [...], Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1862, pp. 215-216 No. 162. Another example might be MS Leiden LTK 589, a Dutch and Hindustani glossary.

sultan of the Ottoman Empire granted extensive privileges to the Dutch in 1612. The Republic maintained an envoy in Istanbul and consular agents in cities such as Smyrna, Aleppo and Cairo. Dutch merchants even settled in the Middle East, united under the Board of Directors of the Levant Trade, founded in 1625. In Smyrna the Dutch community was large and prosperous enough to have its own Protestant church and minister. In his travel diaries Antoine Galland mentioned his contacts with Dutch diplomats and scholars, whom he met and befriended in spite of the Franco-Dutch wars from 1672 onwards.

The intricate network of Dutch diplomats and traders in the Levant and beyond offered protection and lodging to adventurers, pilgrims to the Holy Land, and grand tourists with a taste for the exotic. One of these was the artist Cornelis de Bruijn (c.1652-1727), who visited the Levant, Muscovy, Persia and the Indies on two separate voyages. His highly detailed travel reports were published in both Dutch and French in the Republic and later also in English between 1698 and 1737. De Bruijn's books were illustrated with hundreds of engravings based on his own sketches, including a nearly two-metre-wide panorama of Istanbul and the first accurate representation of the ruins of Persepolis. Of course, not all books bore such prolific illustrations, but on the whole, engravers were more readily available in the Netherlands than in other countries. A few of them were gifted artists, while the rest were artisans who churned out stock images to the best of their ability.

Literary pursuits

It is perhaps surprising that the emerging interest in the Orient left only limited traces in the field of *belles lettres*. Orientalist tastes were particularly prominent in the theatre. From approximately the 1620s onwards, a large number of plays were written which can be categorised as 'Turkish tragedies' and which were usually situated at the Ottoman court or in Persia or the Mughal Empire in India. *Sultan Osman* (1623) written by Abraham Kemp, Henrick Lubaeus' play *Mahomet* (1657) and Jan Serwouters's *Tamerlan* (1661) fit into this category. This tradition continued into the eighteenth century with theatrical pieces such as *Achmet* (Coenraet Droste, 1708) and *Thamas Koelikan* (Frans van Steenwijk, 1745). These plays were mostly concerned with power struggles and intrigues at the Ottoman and Mughal courts, or wars between pretenders to the throne. They referred to historical events and were based on histories and chronicles of the Eastern empires, often translated from French into Dutch.[9]

9 C.G. Brouwer, *De oostersche schouburgh: Nederlandse oriëntaalse treurspelen uit de zeventiende en achttiende Eeuw*, 3 vols, Amsterdam: D'Fluyte Rarob, 1992-1994. See vol. 1, pp. 281-282, for Brouwer's method of selection and criteria and his explanation of the origin of the genre.

Men playing chess and ladies drinking coffee, in *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn…*, Delft 1698, facing p. 136

The Dutch theatre tradition in the seventeenth century, and the 'Turkish' plays in particular, were part of an international trend that emerged especially in England and France. Dutch drama was strongly influenced by fashions in France, where *Turquerie* had been a fixed element not only of the theatre but also of art and literature in general ever since King Francis I concluded a treaty with the Ottoman sultan in the first half of the sixteenth century. Jean Racine, the absolute master of Classicist drama, experimented with the Oriental style in *Bajazet*, a play on Sultan Murad IV's murder of his brother Bayezid. This play was first performed and published in Paris in 1672, but before long there were many French editions published the Netherlands or Dutch translations of the play.

Cruelty, court intrigue, illicit love and the abuse of (womanly) virtue were the fixed ingredients of this kind of Orientalist drama, but it must be added that the same could be said of the French Classicist plays about the ancient Greeks and Romans. In the Dutch versions or adaptations of the popular French *Arlequinades*, the 'Turk' appears as a quack in wildly exotic garb or as a buffoon. Many of these facetious plays were never performed, however, if only because theatres were thin on the ground; rather, they were printed for home reading or, perhaps, private theatricals. We shall come across several of these plays further below. The library of the Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde (Society of Netherlands Literature, MNL), founded in Leiden in 1766, holds a rich collection of resources on all branches of Dutch literature, especially drama. In 1841, for instance, the Leiden burgomaster and philanthropist Diderik van Leyden Gael (1775-1846) anonymously donated a collection of more than 4,000 plays, which was later expanded to 9,400.[10] Unfortunately, very few plays bear illustrations, apart from a title page vignette.

Translations of Arabic literature

Among scholars, fictional literature was not held in high regard, and it is perhaps not surprising that translations from Oriental literature were relatively scarce. The first Arabic work to be translated into European languages was the collection of fables in the mirror-for-princes genre entitled *Kalila wa-Dimna* by Ibn al-Muqaffa', who died around 756 CE. The main characters are Kalila and Dimna, two brother jackals, and the work is cast into a frame story comparable to the one in the *Thousand and one nights*. It is the first Arabic work of fictional prose, based on a version in

10 Since 1876, the library of the Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde is on permanent loan to the Leiden University Library. See Ton Harmsen, 'Eén groot feest: de collectie toneelstukken', in: Berry Dongelmans, Frits van Oostrom & Peter van Zonneveld (eds), *Dierbaar Magazijn: de bibliotheek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde*, Amsterdam: University Press, 1995, pp. 39-41.

Voorbeelsels

noch is u beter der selver eenvuldicheyt dan deser beheydicheydt: Want oft de Koningh schoon sot ende eenvoudich is/ heeft hy Wyse Raden ende by'woonders/ soo gaen syne saecken wel / ende syn Rijck wordt verhooght / gheliick als de Koningh der Hasen/ hoewel hy niet wijs was/ soo volghde hy syne Raden / ende het quam hem ten goede. Alle de Voghelen vraeghden/ hoe was dat? De Rade antwoorde:

Het was eenmael soo drooghen ende dieren tijt/ dat alle de Landen verdort waren/soo datter gheen Water te krijghen was/ zijnde onlijdelijck voor alle Dieren / insonderheyt den Eliphanten die te samen quamen / ende spraken teghen haren Koningh. Nu ghebreeckt ons Weyde ende Water/ soo't u ghevalt/ willen wy uyt schicken een andere stede te soecken: op dat wy ons leven behouden. De uytgheschickte quamen / segghende/ dat sy een stede ghevonden hadden/ ghenaemt des Maens Bronnen/ daer Weyde ende Waters ghenoech was. Als sy nu tot den Bron quamen/daer woonden de Hasen met haren Koningh/hebbende daerom heen veel holen tot haer ghemack / de Eliphanten daer om heen gaende/ vertraden vele holen / pletterende vele Hasen. De Hasen sulcke schade lijdende/versamelden

Fable of the hares and the elephants, in Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Voorbeelsels der oude wyse*, trans. Zacharias Heyns, Amsterdam 1623, fol. 66v

Middle Persian and ultimately of Sanskrit origin by an author known as Bidpai.[11] The text is strongly reminiscent of the Greek fables of Aesop. As a matter of fact,

11 See C. Brockelmann, 'Kalila wa-Dimna', in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., Leiden: Brill, 1960-2009, vol. 4, pp. 503-506; Marzolph & Van Leeuwen (2004), vol. 2, pp. 614-615.

the fables of *Kalila wa-Dimna* had already reached Christian Europe almost half a millennium before the *Nights*. A Hebrew translation by a certain Rabbi Yo'el from the early twelfth century was retranslated into Latin between 1263 and 1278 by the Jewish convert Johannes Capuensis or John of Capua, who gave it the title *Directorium vitae humanae, alias parabola antiquorum sapientium* ('Guide for Human Life, or the Parables of the Ancient Sages'). A German translation by Antonius von Pforr (d. 1483), *Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen*, was relatively widely disseminated, both in manuscript and print, and was illustrated with miniatures or woodcuts.

In 1623 the Dutchman Zacharias Heyns or Heins (c.1566-c.1638) translated the German version into Dutch, with a faithful record on the title page of the text's long journey from its Indian sources: *Voorbeelsels der oude wyse, handelende van trouw, ontrouw, list, haet, geswindicheyt, ende alle andere menschelijcke gheneghentheden. Uut d'Indische sprake, in d'Arabische, Hebreische ende Latijnsche overgheset, ende nu in de Duytsche vertaelt, verçiert met vele rijm-spreucken, ende figueren door Zacharias Heyns*.[12] This edition of the 'Parables of the Ancient Sages', enlivened with numerous naïve woodcuts, was reprinted in 1634, 1646 and 1652. One woodcut (1st ed. 1623, fol. 66v) depicts the story of the Hares, who call the Moon to their defence against the Elephants, who are drinking up all the water from the well. Much later, in 1693, the work was given a new lease of life by Johannes Duijkerius (1661 or 1662-1702), who expanded it to twice its original size from unknown sources and published it with a great variety of new copperplate engravings. Only one edition was printed during Duijkerius's lifetime, but after his death it was reissued in 1714, 1724, 1740 and 1765.[13] This means that the Dutch version of *Kalila wa-Dimna* ran through nine editions over 140 years, with the first edition predating the *Nights* by more than 80 years. Thus the Dutch reading public was quite familiar with the style, themes and subjects of Arabic tales when the *Nights* made its first appearance in 1704.

As in the case of *Kalila wa-Dimna*, literary interest in the Orient in the Low Countries was connected with literary activities in other European countries. As elsewhere, interest was directed at texts of wisdom and morality rather than fictional frivolities. An example is the philosophical novel *Hayy ibn Yaqzan* of the Arabic philosopher Ibn Tufayl (1105-1185), which was translated into Latin in 1660 by the English Orientalist Edward Pococke and published in 1671. English translations from the Latin version appeared in 1674 and 1684 and from the Arabic in 1708. A

12 'Parables of the ancient sages, relating to faith and infidelity, deceit, hatred, violence and all other human inclinations. Translated from the Indian language into Arabic, Hebrew and Latin, and now into Dutch, illustrated with many maxims and figures by Zacharias Heyns'. Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 1623.

13 The 1714 edition was published as Joannes Duikerius, *Voorbeeldzels der oude wyzen: waar in op een zinryke voet, en bevallige zwier, de menschelyke hartstogten, en daar uit ryzende deugden en gebreken, behandeld werden: uit meest alle de Oostersche, Grieksche en Romeinsche taalen vergaderd: thans in zuiverder Nederduits gebragt, en doorgaans wel met de helft vermeerderd*, Amsterdam: J. v. Heekeren, J. Graal & P. Visser, 1714.

HAI EBN JOKDAN. 159

zekere ſtaat der beroovinge zeer gelyk, toegingen: en dewyl hy dit van de Dieren vaſt ſtelde, zag hy dat hy het zelve van de Planten met meer reden mogt vaſt hellen; die niet al ten deele die bevattingen hadden, welke de dieren hebben: want dewyl dat gene, welk van volmaakter bevattinge was, deze kennisſe niet konde verkrygen, veel min zoude iets van min-volmaakter bevattinge de zelve konnen bekomen; te meer, dewyl hy zag, dat alle werkingen der Planten zig niet verder als tot Voedinge en Teelinge uitſtrekten.

Na dezen heeft hy de Sterren en Hemelen overwogen, en gezien dat zy allezaamen geſchikte bewegingen hadden, en door eene weigeſtelde loop omgedreven wierden. Hy zag ook dat zy doorſchynende en blinkende waren, en dat het'er zeer verre af was, dat zy eenige veranderinge of verdervinge zouden onderhevig zyn; en vermoedede zeer ſteck

Hayy ibn Yaqzan fathoming the secrets of Nature, in Ibn Tufayl, *De natuurlyke wysgeer*, trans. 'S.D.B.' [Gerrit van Broekhuizen], 2nd edition, Rotterdam 1701, p. 159

Dutch translation was published in 1672, ascribed to Johannes Bouwmeester. In 1701 it was followed by a second edition that was revised by the Utrecht Orientalist Adriaan Reland, entitled *De natuurlyke wysgeer, of Het leven van Hai ebn Jokdan* ('The Natural Philosopher Or the Life of Hayy ibn Yaqzan').[14] This edition from Rotterdam bears the initials of the translator 'S.D.B.', who has been tentatively identified as the philosopher Benedictus de Spinoza, but it is far more likely that it was a certain Gerrit van Broekhuizen (active 1679-1705), who translated many Oriental travelogues, both fictitious and true.[15]

14 The 1701 edition with revisions by Reland was published in Rotterdam by Pieter van der Veer.

15 Among the other translations of Van Broekhuizen, one finds the travels of Paul Rycaut, Jean Chardin and Jean de Thévenot. He also translated Denis Vairasse's entirely fictitious *Histoire des Sevarambes*. A more detailed study on Van Broekhuizen by Remke Kruk and Arnoud Vrolijk is forthcoming. Please note that there is also another 1701 edition, published by Willem Lamsveld in Amsterdam.

Beschryvinge van het Magtig Koningryk
KRINKE KESMES:
zynde een gedeelte van het onbekende
ZUIDLAND.
t' Amsterdam by Nicolaas ten Hoorn 1708.

Henrik Smeeks, *Beschryvinge van het magtig koningryk Krinke Kesmes*, Amsterdam 1708

Ibn Tufayl's novel probably inspired Daniel Defoe to write his famous *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). Also in the Dutch Republic, this instigated the trend of 'Robinsonades', utopian novels set on uninhabited islands. The best known titles are *Beschryvinge van het magtig koningryk Krinke Kesmes* ('Description of the mighty kingdom of Krinke Kesmes', Amsterdam 1708) by Henrik Smeeks, and *De Walchersche Robinson* by an unknown author ('The Robinson of Walcheren', Rotterdam 1752). Whereas in Ibn Tufayl's novel the protagonist, growing up on an isolated island, re-invents Aristotelian philosophy all by himself, his Dutch counterpart in Walcheren evolves into a proper Calvinist.[16] Of course, the genre of utopian fantasies fits into a more general trend of writing fictional journeys, such as Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and Voltaire's *Candide*. A less well-known example, which probably inspired Voltaire, was *Voyages et avantures de Jaques Massé* (1714), written by the French philosopher and mathematician Simon Tyssot de Patot (1655-1738), who was living in exile in Deventer and taught at the Athenaeum Illustre. Since Henrik Smeeks lived in nearby Zwolle, it is not improbable that the two authors knew each other and that Tyssot de Patot was familiar with Smeeks' novel. Tyssot also befriended the Irish-born freethinker John Toland, who lived in exile in The Hague.[17]

This brief overview shows how literature and the trends of Orientalism were connected with the broader developments of commercial expansion, the emergence of scholarly institutions and European intellectual networks. Especially the new approaches in Oriental studies, which were connected with both trade ties and religious polemics, enhanced knowledge about the Muslim East and made Arabic texts more widely available, including those that were not of a religious nature. The Dutch Republic played a leading role in these developments, and it is no coincidence that news about Galland's translation of the *Thousand and one nights* quickly reached the Low Countries. As we will see in the following chapter, the Dutch scholar and administrator Ghisbert Cuper was one of the first to be notified of the existence of the *Nights*.

16 See Remke Kruk, 'An 18th-century Dutch relative of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓân*: Robinson of Walcheren', in: Jean-Baptiste Brenet and Olga Lizzini (eds), *Studying Arabic philosophy: meaning, limits and challenges of a modern discipline = La philosophie arabe à l'étude: sens, limites et défies d'une discipline moderne*, Paris: Vrin (forthcoming).

17 Simon Tyssot de Patot, *Reizen en avonturen van Jaques Massé* (*c.1714*), transl. Lizette van Eijkeren, intr. Peter Altena, Hilversum: Verloren, 2016, 'Inleiding', pp. 28-29; P.J. Buijnsters, 'Imaginaire reisverhalen in Nederland gedurende de 18e eeuw', in: P.J. Buijnsters (ed.), *Nederlandse literatuur van de achttiende eeuw: veertien verkenningen*, Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1984, pp. 7-36; Leemans & Johannes (2013); Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: pantheists, freemasons and republicans*, Lafayette: Cornerstone, 2006, pp. 155, 163.

3 Antoine Galland and Ghisbert Cuper

Intellectual networks in pre-modern Europe were not limited to scholars attached to academic institutions but also included literati and 'amateur' scholars who participated in the so-called Republic of Letters: the merchants, members of the professional classes, and the *dilettanti* who made the Grand Tour, frequented the salons, participated in literary or dramatic societies, or dabbled in science by collecting minerals or exotic species of plants and animals.[1] Like many European scholars, Antoine Galland was an assiduous participant of the Republic of Letters, corresponding regularly about scientific issues, new discoveries and recent publications.[2] In France, Galland was directly acquainted with intellectuals such as Pierre-Daniel Huet and abbé Jean-Paul Bignon, the head of the Bibliothèque Royale, who acted as his patron and mentor. Unfortunately, Galland's likeness has not been preserved. Perhaps his most important foreign correspondent was the Dutch scholar and administrator Ghisbert Cuper (1644-1716), who regularly exchanged letters with Galland from approximately 1700 until the latter's death in 1715. Although the two scholars never met, it is clear from their correspondence that they were attached to each other and were not merely colleagues but close friends. The correspondence with Cuper is still one of the main sources of biographical information on Galland.[3]

Ghisbert Cuper was born in 1644. After his studies in Classical history and philology he settled in Deventer as a professor at the Athenaeum. In 1676 he became a delegate in the administration of the town, occasionally taking on the position of mayor. After having been outspoken in his pro-Orangist inclination, he was invited to become a member of the States General in The Hague, the main political institution of the Dutch Republic. In 1694 he retired from national politics and returned to Deventer to devote himself once again to the administration of the town and his scholarly pursuits.[4] Although he wrote several treatises on Classical philology, his main significance lies in his huge collection of letters, which during

1 On the role of scholars as intermediaries between original Oriental texts and the general [educated] public, see Dohmen (2000), pp. 55-62.

2 About the Republic of Letters in the Netherlands, see Hans Bots, *De Republiek der Letteren: de Europese intellectuele wereld 1500-1760*, Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2018.

3 For Galland's correspondence with Dutch Orientalists, see Richard van Leeuwen, 'The Dutch correspondents of Antoine Galland: Ghisbert Cuper and Adriaen Reland', forthcoming; see also Harold Cook, *Assessing the truth: correspondence and information at the end of the Golden Age*, Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2013.

4 We are greatly indebted to Ms Anne van Geuns, curator at Museum De Waag, Deventer, for kindly providing us with a digital reproduction of a portrait of Ghisbert Cuper.

Jan de Baen (attributed), oil portrait of Ghisbert Cuper wearing an Oriental gown, c. 1680
© Deventer, Museum De Waag

his lifetime had already been bound into one hundred volumes and which remains a monumental resource on contemporary scholarly debates. Cuper's network of correspondents encompassed France, England, Germany, Scandinavia and Italy,

Hendrik Spilman (?) after Jan de Beyer, *De groote kerkhof te Deventer…*, mid-18th century

and he was connected to the most prominent scholars of his time. In France, his main correspondents were Antoine Galland and abbé Jean-Paul Bignon, for whom he acted as an intermediary with Dutch scholars such as Nicolaas Witsen, who was not only burgomaster of Amsterdam and a member of the board of the Dutch East India Company but also a scholar of Tartar history and society. Cuper also exchanged letters regularly with the Dutch consul in Smyrna, Daniel Jean de Hochepied, and the Orientalist and traveller Johannes Heyman, the Calvinist pastor of the Dutch community at Smyrna who became professor of Oriental languages in Leiden in 1710. At a certain point Adriaan Reland, professor of Oriental languages in Utrecht, joined this circle of correspondents.[5]

5 About Cuper's life, see A.J. Veenendaal, *Het dagboek van Gisbert Cuper*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1950; B.C.E. Bolkestein, 'De Deventer geleerde [en] politicus Gisbert Cuper (1644-1716): een Oranjegezinde

Although Cuper had an astonishingly wide range of interests, the focus in his letters to Galland was on numismatics and Classical history. However, towards the end of August 1702, Galland wrote to him about a new undertaking, the translation of an Arabic collection of tales:

> This other work I have had the honour of mentioning to you is entitled the *Thousand and one nights: Arab tales, rendered into French*. The original is in Arabic, and I say *rendered into French* because it is not a version which precisely adheres to the text, for this would not please the readers. It is, inasmuch as I am capable of, Arabic rendered into correct French, without slavishly following the Arabic words. These tales are of the same nature as *The* [*Golden*] *Ass* by Apuleius and the *True history* of Lucian. Everything is surprising, marvellous, and full of transformations of men into various kinds of animals through enchantment. The fairies and genies have a vast empire in it, and there is such a great variety of events and adventures that there is nothing remotely similar to it, not even in our ancient Romans. Of the thousand and one nights we have only seventy in the part that I have completed, which may allow you to judge the length of the whole work. I have only approximately four or five hundred of these nights in five Arabic volumes which were sent to me from Aleppo. I am still awaiting the remainder. Here is a summary of this great work in a few words:
> A sultan of the Indies, a Mohammedan, is convinced that the sultana, his spouse, is unfaithful to him. He has her executed and every following night his grand vizier provides him with a new bride from among the best families of his subjects. To ensure her fidelity he has her strangled in the morning by the same vizier. The daughter of this vizier, who is well educated and very learned, persuades her father, in spite of his fierce objections, to present her to the sultan as his wife, with the aim of making him abandon this disastrous prejudice. The vizier gives up his resistance and leads her before the sultan, who gives his permission to bring her sister with her, under the pretext of seeing

regent in een staatsgezinde stad', *Deventer jaarboek* 2005, pp. 28-37; Bianca Chen, 'Gisbert Cuper as a servant of two republics', in: Marika Keblusek & Badeloch Vera Noldus (eds), *Double agents: cultural and political brokerage in early modern Europe*, Leiden: Brill, 2011, pp. 71-93; Bianca Chen, 'Digging for antiquities with diplomats: Gisbert Cuper (1644-1716) and his social capital', *Republic of Letters* 1 (2009), pp. 1-18. Cuper's correspondence with Hochepied is preserved in MS The Hague, Nationaal Archief, inventory number 1.10.24.13. For Cuper's correspondence with Heyman, see MS The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 72 G 34; see also: A.H. Huussen jr. & C. Wes-Patoir, 'Hoe een ambitieuze predikant te Smyrna professor te Leiden werd: brieven van Ds. Johannes Heyman en Gisbert Cuper, 1699-1710', *Holland* 31 (1999), No. 2, pp. 87-100; Marion Peters, 'Nicolaas Witsen and Gijsbert Cuper: Two seventeenth-century burgomasters and their Gordian knot', *Lias* 16 (1989), No. 1, pp. 111-150.

> her for the last time. This sister sleeps in the same room and the next morning before daybreak, as previously agreed upon, she begs her sister, who has slept with the sultan, to tell her a tale while they are waiting for daylight to come. The sultan grants his permission. As dawn arrives before the tale is finished, the sultan is curious to hear the rest, but because he is obliged to rise, pray according to the Mohammedan manner and dedicate himself to the affairs of the state, he suspends his cruel act until the following day. Night after night the new sultana leads him on until the thousand-and-first night, and thus forces him, by allowing her to stay alive, to forswear the prejudice which was directed against all women in general.
> I could continue this undertaking as a form of entertainment if this first part, which serves as a trial, is well received by the public. M. Foucault thinks highly of it,[6] and the ladies of spirit in this town, to whom I have read from it, are charmed. But I have imposed on you with these stories for too long.[7]

This information is, apart from a short reference in a letter to Pierre-Daniel Huet, the first substantial trace of the *Thousand and one nights* in Europe. It is particularly interesting because it gives a relatively elaborate description of the work. Cuper's answer, on 13 October 1702, shows a polite interest but no true enthusiasm, since, clearly, he did not feel a real affinity with this kind of literature:

> The Arabic novel of which you speak will doubtless have its beauty and I can already see the exalted ideas and sublime expressions which this and all other Oriental nations have always used and are still using today. I do not doubt that this book will be well received in a century that is greatly enamoured of novelties, and this is mainly because you put it in good French, without adhering too much to the Arabic expressions. But I do not know if all the ladies who praise it will approve of entertaining a sultan for the greater part of the night and forcing him to rise without any ceremony for a thousand and one days in order to occupy himself with the affairs of the state.[8]

Galland responded two years later in October 1704 by indicating the broad interest in the work in France, saying that the audience was not limited to romantic ladies but also included the ladies and gentlemen at the royal court:

6 Nicolas-Joseph Foucault (1643-1721), a high official under Louis XIV, was the wealthy owner of a large collection of coins, living in Caen. He appointed Galland, after his return from the Orient, as the custodian of his collection.

7 See Appendix 4 for the original French text of the letters exchanged between Antoine Galland and Ghisbert Cuper.

8 Cuper to Galland, 13 Oct. 1702, Abdel-Halim (1964a), CLXXXVII, p. 439.

> These tales, which are appearing under the title *Mille et une nuit* ('Thousand and one nights'), are rather well received at court in Paris and in the provinces by ladies and gentlemen alike. They would not have had the same enthusiasm for other works which I could have published long since, and perhaps never will. To return to these stories, which are entertaining and amusing, one could say that they could console us for the loss of the *Milesian fables*,[9] which have not come down to us. They are fairly ancient, and the relations that have existed between this country and the Levant ever since the age of the Crusades, have instigated the authors of novels to borrow many things from them.[10]

Later, in December 1704, Galland more explicitly encouraged Cuper, who had expressed the hope that the translation would appear in the Dutch Republic, to read the work:

> It would be a great honour for my translation of the Arabic tales if you would have the courtesy to read them. I can assure you that our highest magistrates are not above reading them for their relaxation. They are not *amourettes* (simple love stories) but intrigues whose outcome the reader is impatient to learn. Besides, they draw a very natural portrait of the peoples of the Levant, their lives, customs and manners. In this way we have the pleasure of actually finding ourselves among them, so to speak, without the fatigue of travelling, as I have noted in the introduction, and of becoming acquainted with them so much better than through the accounts of our travellers. The printing of the fifth volume should be ready by now, and the sixth is ready for press. I am now working on the seventh.[11]

It is curious, however, that Galland did not send a copy of his translation to Cuper, probably because he considered it bereft of academic interest. In April 1705, Cuper reported that he had read 'some stories', almost certainly in the edition of the French text which started appearing in The Hague in the same year. Clearly, he appreciated some aspects of the stories but was somewhat reserved about their apparent indulgence in unbounded imagination, which he – in spite of Galland's remonstrations – kept associating with feminine taste, adding that in the Dutch Republic, too, women appreciated the work more than men did:

9 A famous but lost collection of Greek erotic and obscene tales, attributed to Aristides of Miletus (2nd century BCE).

10 Galland to Cuper, 30 Oct 1704, Abdel-Halim (1964a), CXCIX, pp. 466-467.

11 Galland to Cuper, 5 Dec. 1704, Abdel-Halim (1964a), CCI, pp. 473-474.

> Your *Arabic Tales*, or *The Thousand and One Nights*, have been printed in Amsterdam,[12] and I have read some of them with fairly great pleasure. But I have to say that the Arabs have a very strong imagination to be able to heap lie upon lie, and it surprises me that anyone could find so many fables that are, and always will be, completely unrealistic. The ancient Greeks and Romans called it *Deus ex machina* whenever they introduced some divine being or other into their plays to escape from an intricate fix. But this expression could with all the more reason be applied to the author of the *Thousand and one nights*, because at every single moment he introduces fairies who change everything and appear everywhere to embellish these grotesque tales and indulge in extravagancies. What pleases me most is that the author has staged a girl who, by this pretty device of never finishing her stories, is able to protect herself against death, and every morning arouses the curiosity of a king who has already sacrificed so many beauties to his jealousy and wrath.
>
> The book is without doubt a great entertainment for the fair sex. They will never tire of reading this kind of bizarre adventures, and their curiosity will be at least as great as that of this imaginary king.
>
> I was told that in this country the book finds more female readers than male. I am not surprised, since it is well known that the curiosity of this sex is much greater than that of men.[13]

Finally, in July 1705, Galland acknowledged Cuper's response and repeated that 'officers and magistrates' were fond of the tales as well, adding on a somewhat bitter note:

> I was not sure if the *Arabic Tales* would please you and I am relieved that you have stolen some moments of your time, which you might have spent more profitably, to read some of them. Like you, I admire the imaginative abilities of the Arabs and the variety of their fictions, which are much more daring than those of Homer. The sixth volume started to appear when I was away from Paris and had returned to Caen. I learned that they are quite as satisfied with it as with the other volumes. They are already asking for the seventh volume. It is ready, but I still have to revise it, and I do not believe that it will appear before the end of the summer season, because there are but few people at court and in the city. This state of desolation does not please the book-seller, because our officers and magistrates find it just as entertaining as the ladies. It is peculiar that this

12 Cuper was confused about the place of publication of the first Husson edition from The Hague, which started appearing in 1705 without an imprint.

13 Cuper to Galland, 16 Apr. 1705, Abdel-Halim (1964a), CCX, pp. 492-493.

> fanciful work gives me more prestige among the public than the most beautiful work I could ever compile on medals, full of learned observations on Greek and Roman antiquities. Such is the world. People are much fonder of entertainment than anything which would require even the smallest effort.[14]

This exchange of letters is our main source for the progress of Galland's work on the *Mille et une nuit*, apart from his journals. Conversely, Cuper's letters are the earliest response to the appearance of the *Thousand and one nights* in the Dutch Republic. Cuper was not overly enthusiastic, but it has to be noted that the Orient and Oriental literature were not his main fields of interest and that, like so many others, he read the work for entertainment rather than out of scholarly or literary interest. Correspondence indicates that somewhat later Adriaan Reland was also informed about the *Mille et une nuit*, but his opinion has not been recorded.[15] Cuper also informed Heyman about the work, which he referred to as 'the most impertinent stories'. He remarked that they nevertheless show the ingenuity of the Arab nation, revealing what it would be capable of if it dedicated itself to other, more serious, pursuits.[16]

14 Galland to Cuper, 10 July 1705, Abdel-Halim (1964a), CCXVI, pp. 500-501.

15 See Adriaan Reland to Ghisbert Cuper, 6 January 1710, MS The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 72 H 11; Adriaan Reland to Ghisbert Cuper, November 1705, MS The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 72 H 11; and Ghisbert Cuper to Pierre-Daniel Huet, 14 December 1705, MS The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 72 H 23.

16 'Heer Galland is mede seer geverseert in de Arabische taal ende heeft overgeset een boek welkers opschrift is Mille et une Nuit; zijnde vol van de impertinentste vertellingen des werelts, waer uyt men noghtans sien kan wat die spitsvinnige natie niet kan uytvinden, en wat niet soude kunnen doen soo sigh op andere saake quam te legghen.' Ghisbert Cuper to Johannes Heyman, 21 June 1708, MS The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 72 G 34, f. 320.

4 The early editions of the *Nights*

During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Dutch Republic was highly susceptible to the literary fashions of France. The use of French was widespread among the cultural élite, and this influence was reflected accordingly in the number of local French editions, or Dutch translations for those who did not know French well enough but were eager to keep abreast of cultural developments. The Dutch book market was well organised and influential throughout Europe, and during the heyday of the Enlightenment numerous French authors took recourse to the 'libraires de Hollande' to avoid the censorship of the Ancien Régime. Many Dutch publishers were of French or Walloon Protestant extraction, which greatly facilitated communications. This trend began to change in the second half of the eighteenth century, when publishing in French decreased and voices were raised in support of a national Dutch cultural 'revival'. This literary trend also affected works in the Oriental style, albeit never as a dominant current.

The epistolary novel *Lettres Persanes* by Montesquieu (1689-1755) is perhaps the most famous example of a work in the Orientalist style, which was first published in Amsterdam in 1721 by the Huguenot publisher Pierre Brunel (1658/59-1740).[1] This critique of the absolutism of Louis XIV is, however, not an Orientalist work in the strictest sense of the word: Montesquieu used the Oriental theme only as a thin veneer to create a distance between his 'Persian' protagonists and the French society they visited and observed. A Dutch translation was printed fifteen years later, in 1736.[2]

Voltaire's play *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète, tragédie* leaves little room for doubt about the author's attitude towards Islam, although some maintain that it is directed against *all* forms of religious intolerance. The play was first performed in Lille in 1741 and again the following year in Paris at the Comédie Française, but was afterwards banned in France. In 1743 an edition, apparently based on Voltaire's own manuscript, was published in Amsterdam by the Walloon bookseller Etienne Ledet.[3] An attractive but melodramatic frontispiece of *Mahomet* – designed by 'L.F.D.B.' (Louis Fabritius Dubourg, 1693-1775) and executed by Pieter Tanjé – shows how the desperate slave Palmire kills herself in front of the Prophet Muhammad after she has found out that her beloved is actually her own brother. Dutch translations would follow later in the eighteenth century, for instance in 1770 by Antoni Hartsen

1 On Pierre Brunel, see I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680-1725*, 5 vols in 6, Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema [etc.], 1960-1978, vol. 3, pp. 48-54.

2 *De Persiaansche spion, of Persiaansche brieven* ('The Persian Spy, or, Persian Letters'), Amsterdam: L. Foubert, 1736.

3 Kees van Strien, *Voltaire in Holland, 1736-1745*, Leuven: Peeters, 2011, pp. 63-64.

Reinier Vinkeles, interior of an Amsterdam bookshop (Officina Wittiana), 1763
© Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Louis Fabritius Dubourg, *Mahomet le Prophète, tragédie*, frontispiece to Voltaire, *Mahomet, treurspel*, Amsterdam 1770

(1719-1782). It retains the dramatic frontispiece of the original French-language edition from Amsterdam.[4]

The Husson editions

In view of the overall literary climate in the Dutch Republic, the international role of the Dutch printing industry, and the appetite for things Oriental, it is hardly surprising that from 1705 onwards a Dutch pirated edition in twelve parts of Galland's *Mille et une nuit* followed on the heels of the original Paris edition under the same title,[5] 'suivant la copie de Paris', in the same duodecimo format and invariably announced as 'revûë & corrigée' (revised and corrected). It even repeated the royal *approbation* and scrupulously followed the subdivision of the French edition. It was published by the bookseller Pierre or Pieter Husson (1678-1733), of Huguenot descent, who had his shop at Capel-brug or Kapelsbrug on the corner of Lange Poten and Spui, The Hague.[6] Nothing of the original site remains.[7] In his history of the Hague booktrade, Ernst Ferdinand Kossmann writes in somewhat veiled terms that Husson's 'reputation as an honest man was not undisputed'; in a tavern he was once roundly accused of being a 'scoundrel' (*schelm*).[8]

The bibliographic history of this edition and its re-editions is confusing. The third edition, starting in 1705, is the earliest known to exist, and no single Husson edition contains all twelve parts of the original French version.[9] Apparently, new editions of single volumes were printed as soon as they ran out of stock. The first two parts of the third edition mention neither the place of publication nor the

4 *Mahomet: treurspel: gevolgd naar het Fransche van den Heere De Voltaire*, transl. Antoni Hartsen, Amsterdam: Izaak Duim, 1770.

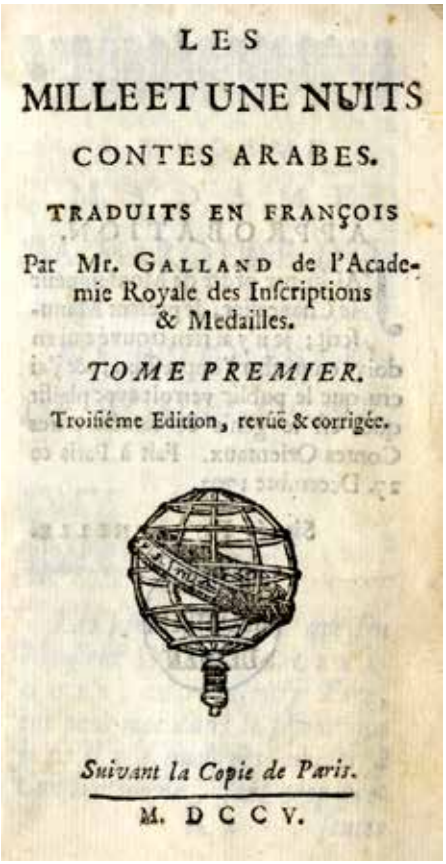
5 But please note that the first two parts, both from 1705, have 'nuits' instead of 'nuit'.

6 For a description of this and all subsequent Husson editions, see Appendix 1 in this volume; J.A. Gruys & C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus 1473-1800: Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid*, Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1989, p. 94.

7 For the Capel-brug, Kapelsbrug or Spuibrug as it appeared in the mid-eighteenth century, see the engraving by 'Mensing', Haags Gemeentearchief, Kl. B 481.

8 E.F. Kossmann, *De boekhandel te 's-Gravenhage tot het eind van de 18e eeuw: biographisch woordenboek van boekverkoopers, uitgevers, boekdrukkers, boekbinders enz.: met vermelding van hun uitgaven en de veilingen door hen gehouden*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1937, pp. 199-202. Kossmann, however, does not mention Husson's editions of the *Nights*.

9 The Leiden University Library copy MRIJKE 1566 is made up of the following parts, all from the third edition unless indicated otherwise: 1-2: 1705. – 3-6: 1706. – 7: 4th ed., 1707. – 8: 5th ed., 1728. – 9-11: no ed., 1730. – 12: no ed., 1731. The Scottish-American scholar Duncan Black Macdonald also possessed several disparate, and in two cases incomplete, sets of Husson editions. See his elaborate description in 'A Bibliographical and Literary Study of the First Appearance of the Arabian Nights in Europe', *The Library Journal* 1932 (4): 387-420, here pp. 400-405.


LES
MILLE ET UNE NUITS
CONTES ARABES.
TRADUITS EN FRANÇOIS
Par Mr. GALLAND de l'Academie Royale des Inſcriptions & Medailles.
TOME PREMIER.
Troiſiéme Edition, revûë & corrigée.
Suivant la Copie de Paris.
M. DCCV.

Antoine Galland (trans.), *Les mille et une nuit: contes arabes*, '3rd edition', The Hague, pt 1 (1705), ill. David Coster

publisher, just as one would expect in an illegal reprint, but the subsequent parts make no secret of their origin.[10] The absence of an imprint may have led Ghisbert Cuper to believe that it was printed in Amsterdam (see above, p. 51). After Pierre Husson's death in 1733 the work was continued by his son Jean Martin (Johannes Martinus, 1706-1746), and when he died by the latter's widow Maria Korsendonk.[11] For example, a relatively late, disparate set held by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague contains parts from the sixth, seventh and 'nouvelle' editions, which

10 Leiden University Library, shelfmark MRIJKE 1566, tomes 1-2.

11 On Jean Martin Husson and his widow, see Kossmann (1937), pp. 198-199. According to Kossmann, Jean Martin Husson died in 1749, but this is an obvious mistake, since in December 1746 an auction took place in The Hague by the 'widow of J.M. Husson'. Initially she published under the name 'la veuve J.M. Husson' but later also under her own name M.[aria] Husson. She remained active as a publisher – albeit on a modest scale – until 1769, and died many years later in 1790 at the advanced age of 85.

'Mensing', The Capel-Brug or Kapelsbrug in The Hague, where the Hussons had a bookshop, mid-18th century
© The Hague, Gemeente Archief

were published under the name of Husson *fils* or his widow between 1746 and 1761. The last Husson edition, dating from 1761, remains something of a mystery. It is not numbered but is exclusively indicated as 'nouvelle', and Jean Martin Husson is mentioned as the publisher, although he had died many years before in 1746.[12] Thus the various editions of the Husson family remained in print for decades on end between 1705 and 1761, surely testimony to the unabated enthusiasm for the text in the eighteenth century.

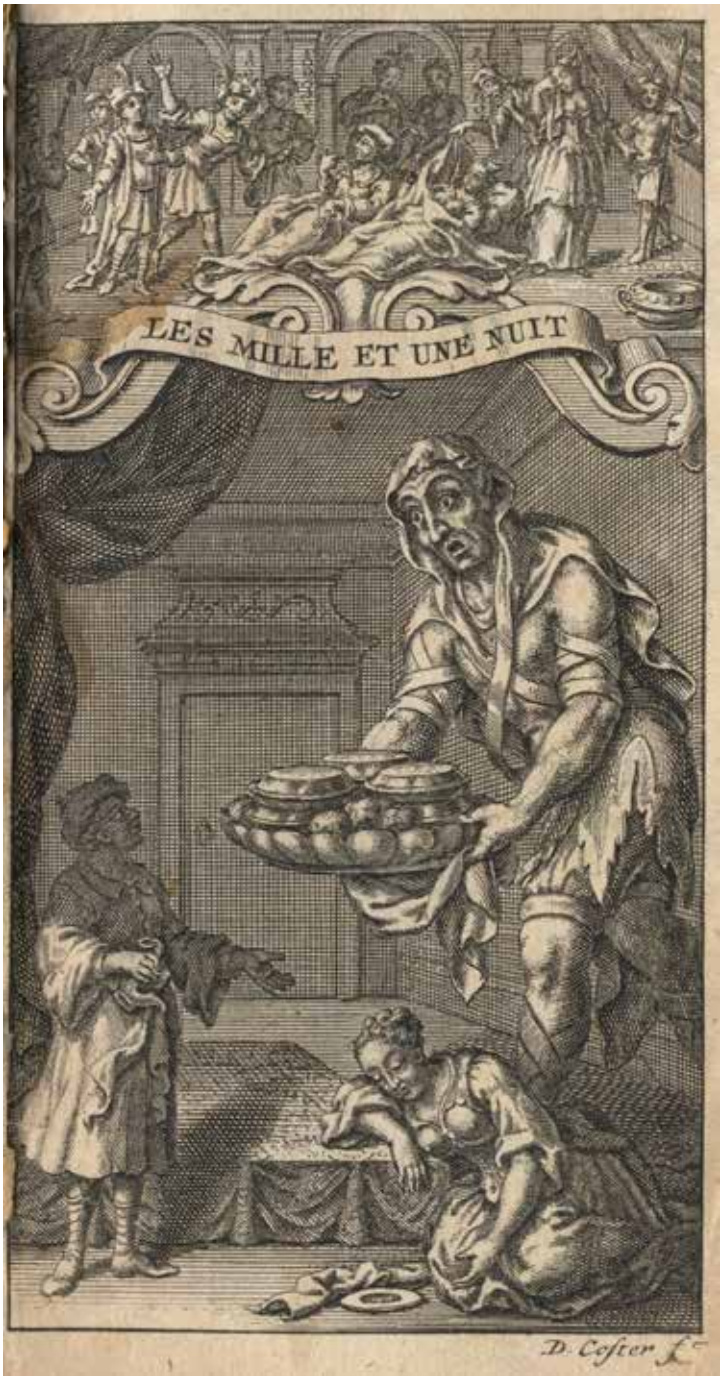
Illustrations

The original Paris edition of Galland's *Mille et une nuit* contains no illustrations, but the Husson editions are enlivened with various attractive frontispieces, designed by David Coster. Coster, a prolific engraver, was born in The Hague around 1680 and died there on 24 January 1752. His work has been characterised as 'without much artistic merit',[13] but on more than one occasion the French scholar Margaret Sironval has devoted attention to the iconography of Coster's plates, stressing the fact that they are the first depictions ever of the stories of the *Nights*, and that it is no mean accomplishment of the engraver to create an illustration of, for example, a jinni, where the text itself offers hardly any clues as to what a jinni is supposed to look like. Also, David Coster was the first to realise the pictorial value of the frame story of Shahrazad, the vindictive Sultan Shahriyar and her sister Dinarzad. It is significant, as Sironval explains, that the next illustration of Shahrazad would have to wait until 1840.[14] Nevertheless, Coster's illustrations

12 The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, shelfmark KW 2210 E 15-20. The composition of this copy is as follows: Pt 1: 7e ed. A La Haye: chez Jean Martin Husson, 1746. – 2-3: 6e ed. A La Haye: chez Jean Martin Husson, 1746. – 4: 6e ed. A La Haye: chez la veuve Jean Martin Husson, 1746. – 5-12: Nouvelle ed. A La Haye: chez Jean Mart. Husson, 1761.

13 'Zonder veel kunstwaarde', Kossmann (1937), pp. 80-81; F.G. Waller, *Biographisch woordenboek van Noord Nederlandsche graveurs*, bew. W.R. Juynboll, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1938, p. 69; see also the website of *RKD: Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie*, online via https://rkd.nl/en/home, accessed 8 November 2018.

14 Margaret Sironval, *Album Mille et une nuits: iconographie choisie et commentée*, Paris: Gallimard, 2005, pp. 48-52, 82, 134-135; eadem, 'The image of Sheherazade in French and English editions of the Thousand and one nights (eighteenth-nineteenth centuries)', in: Yuriko Yamanaka & Tetsuo Nishio (eds), *The Arabian Nights and Orientalism: perspectives from East & West*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2006, pp. 219-244, here pp. 230-232; see also Robert Irwin, *Visions of the Jinn: illustrators of the Arabian Nights*, London: The Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 16-17, plates 7-9. For a history of the Dutch illustrations of the *Nights*, see Richard van Leeuwen, 'De illustraties van *Duizend-en-één-nacht* in het Nederlandse taalgebied; een aanzet tot een receptiegeschiedenis', in: Jef Schaeps, Kasper van Ommen & Arnoud Vrolijk (eds), *Oostersche weelde; de Oriënt in westerse kunst en cultuur. Met een keuze uit de verzamelingen van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek*, Leiden: Primavera Pers 2005, pp. 161-180.



David Coster, Aladdin, his mother and the Jinni, engraving in parts 9-10 of the Husson editions

are not particularly 'Oriental'. For the background he mostly chose heavy Baroque architectural elements; only occasionally do the figures wear a turban or caftan to create a suitable exotic atmosphere. For a detailed description of the plates, see Appendix 2 of this volume.

Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino

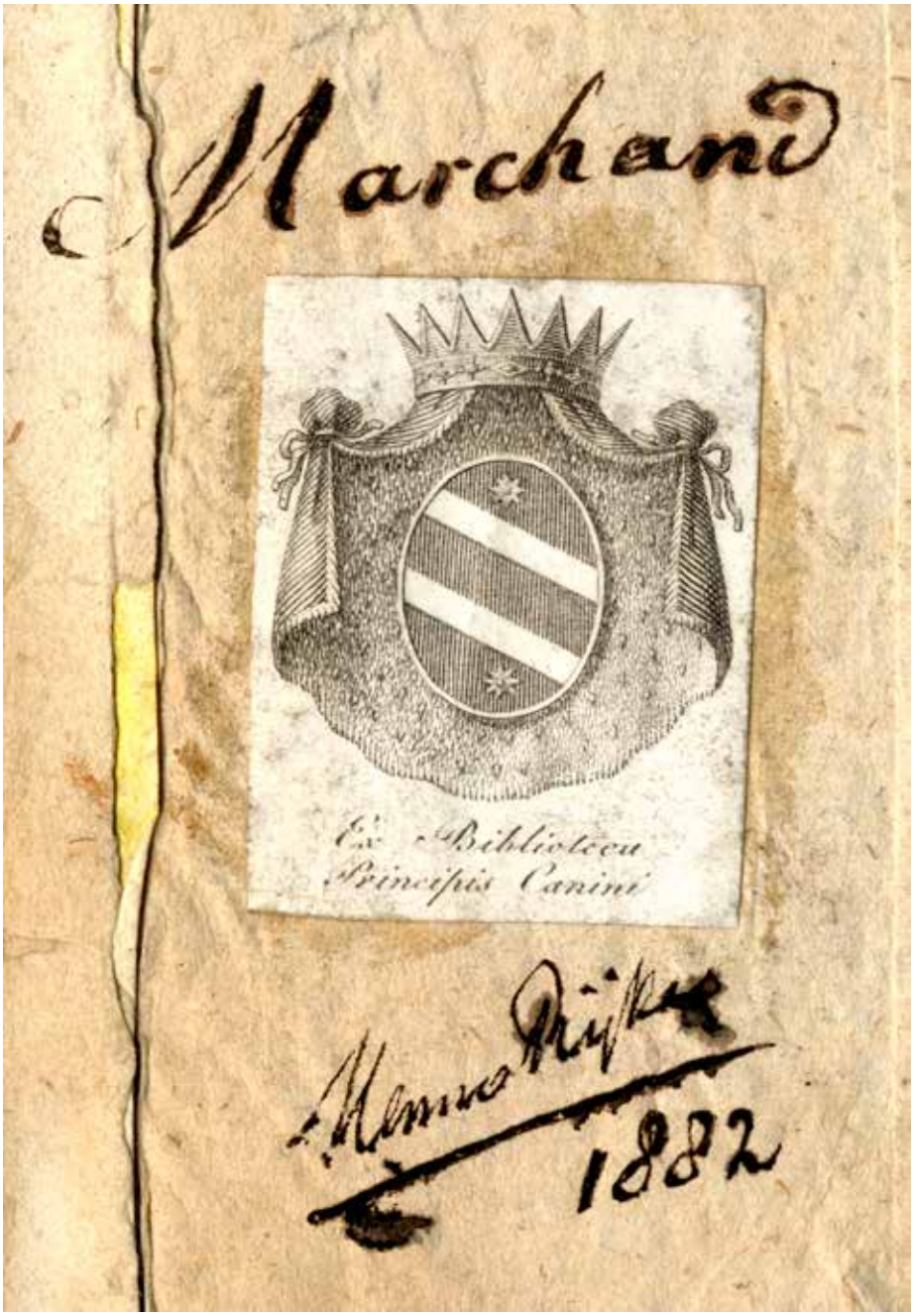
The first, disparate set of Husson editions entered the Leiden University collections as late as in 1931.[15] This vellum-bound copy already had an eventful and chequered history behind it when the last private owner, the jurist Menno Rijke (1859-1931), bequeathed it to the university upon his death. The oldest ownership mark reads 'Marchand' in an eighteenth-century cursive hand. This may refer to the French bookseller/scholar Prosper Marchand (1678-1756), who emigrated to the Dutch Republic in 1709 and died there. It is by no means certain that it is in his own handwriting, but there is nothing unusual in the idea that Marchand, who spent a large part of his working life in The Hague, should have owned or sold an early-eighteenth-century literary work in French from the same city.[16] The second ownership mark, however, leaves less room for ambiguity: it is an engraved bookplate with a crowned coat-of-arms, a draped ermine mantle and the inscription 'Ex Bibliotheca Principis Canini'. This prince is Lucien Bonaparte (1775-1840), a younger brother of the French Emperor Napoleon, who in 1814 received the title of Prince of Canino and Musignano from the Pope.[17] He was proscribed at the Restoration and lived on his estates in Tuscany and Frascati, Italy, where he engaged in the excavation of Etruscan and Roman antiquities. In ever greater need of ready money to finance the rehabilitation of the Bonaparte family by King Louis-Philippe, he sold off parts of his collection of books and antique vases. In 1839 a book auction took place in Rotterdam in the name of his wife, Princess Alexandrine.[18]

15 Leiden University Library, copy MRIJKE 1566.

16 On Marchand, see Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand: la vie et l'oeuvre (1678-1756)*, Leiden: Brill, 1987.

17 We would like to express our sincerest gratitude to Mr Marco Pupillo, Curatore Beni Culturali at the Museo Napoleonico, Rome, for kindly sharing a digital reproduction of a portrait of Lucien Bonaparte. Cf. the earlier, erroneous identification as the Italian revolutionary Marco Antonio Canini (1822-1891) in Arnoud Vrolijk, 'De Duizend-en-één-nacht in Nederland', in: Jef Schaeps, Kasper van Ommen & Arnoud Vrolijk (eds), *Oostersche weelde: de Oriënt in westerse kunst en cultuur*, Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2005, pp. 193-200, here p. 193.

18 Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, appears to have been in Rotterdam and The Hague in July/August 1839, possibly to arrange the sale. See Fleuriot de Langle, *Alexandrine Lucien-Bonaparte, Princesse de Canino (1778-1855)*, Paris: Plon, [1939], p. 235 n.



Bookplate 'Ex Bibliotheca Principis Canini' in the Leiden University copy of the *Nights* printed by Husson

François-Xavier Fabre, oil portrait of Lucien Bonaparte
© Rome, Museo Napoleonico

There, the Leiden copy of Galland's *Nights* fetched a price of six guilders.[19] Other books were sold to the bibliophile Willem Hendrik Jacob, baron van Westreenen van Tiellandt (1783-1848), and are now kept in the museum that bears his name, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum in The Hague.[20] There is no indication that Leiden University Library attended this auction or acquired any books that came under the hammer.[21] The 'Etruscan' (actually Greek) vases were auctioned off in Rotterdam in January 1840 by S. Reynder Snoeck. They were purchased by King William I of the Netherlands and subsequently went to the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden).[22]

To England

From 1706 onwards, the first English retranslation of Galland's French text was published in London, 'printed for *Andrew Bell*, at the Cross Keys and Bible in *Cornhill*'. This so-called 'Grub Street edition' is entitled *Arabian Nights entertainments: consisting of one thousand and one stories*, a title which has stuck ever since in preference to any literal translation from the French. The frontispiece shows a somewhat simplified version of the first bedchamber scene, engraved by David Coster for the Hague edition by Pierre Husson, which had come on the market the previous year in 1705.[23] In 2006 Margaret Sironval came to the conclusion that the English translation was based on the Hague edition,[24] but due to errors of early bibliographers such as Victor Chauvin in the exact date of the first Husson edition, one also finds claims to the opposite.[25] The presence of a French-language edition from the Dutch Republic in London suggests that it was easier for an Englishman to obtain French books from Holland than directly from France, which is hardly surprising in view of the active role of Dutch publishers in the dissemination of

19 *Catalogus van eene fraaije verzameling boeken, behoorende aan Hare Excellentie de Prinses van Canino* [...], Rotterdam: Wed. Locke & Zoon, 1839, p. 21, No. 227 [KB, KW Verz Cat 4656:1].

20 Personal communication from Meermanno curator Erik Geleijns, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

21 MS Leiden University Library, Bibliotheekarchief I, A 4, 'Libri emti in auctionibus publicis 1837-1855', does not mention the Canino auction of 1839.

22 J.H. Holwerda, *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: afdeeling Griekenland en Italië*, pt 1: *Vaatwerk*, [The Hague]: Ministerie van Binnenlandsche Zaken, 1905, pp. 4-5.

23 Chauvin (1892-1922), vol. 4, pp. 70-71, No. *185 A-F; Macdonald (1932), pp. 405-411.

24 Sironval (2006), pp. 225 (with a facsimile of the title page), 230-232.

25 Chauvin (1892-1922), vol. 4, p. 27, No. *21 K; Kazue Kobayashi, 'The evolution of the Arabian Nights illustrations: an art historical review', in: Yuriko Yamanaka & Tetsuo Nishio (eds), *The Arabian nights and Orientalism: perspectives from East and West*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2006, pp. 171-193, here pp. 171-173.

French books throughout Europe, and the unfortunate circumstance that England and France were at war over the Spanish Succession (1702-1715).

The Wetstein edition and Goethe

As already noted above, the last edition of the Husson family appeared in 1761. But even after that, the *Nights* were still regarded as a marketable commodity, for in 1768 the first complete re-edition in twelve parts of Galland's original French version was published – this time in Leiden by Jacobus Wetstein and his son Rudolph Hendrik, who worked together under the imprint of J. de Wetstein & fils.[26] The Wetsteins acquired and used the original plates of the earlier Husson editions from The Hague but erased the name of the engraver David Coster wherever possible.

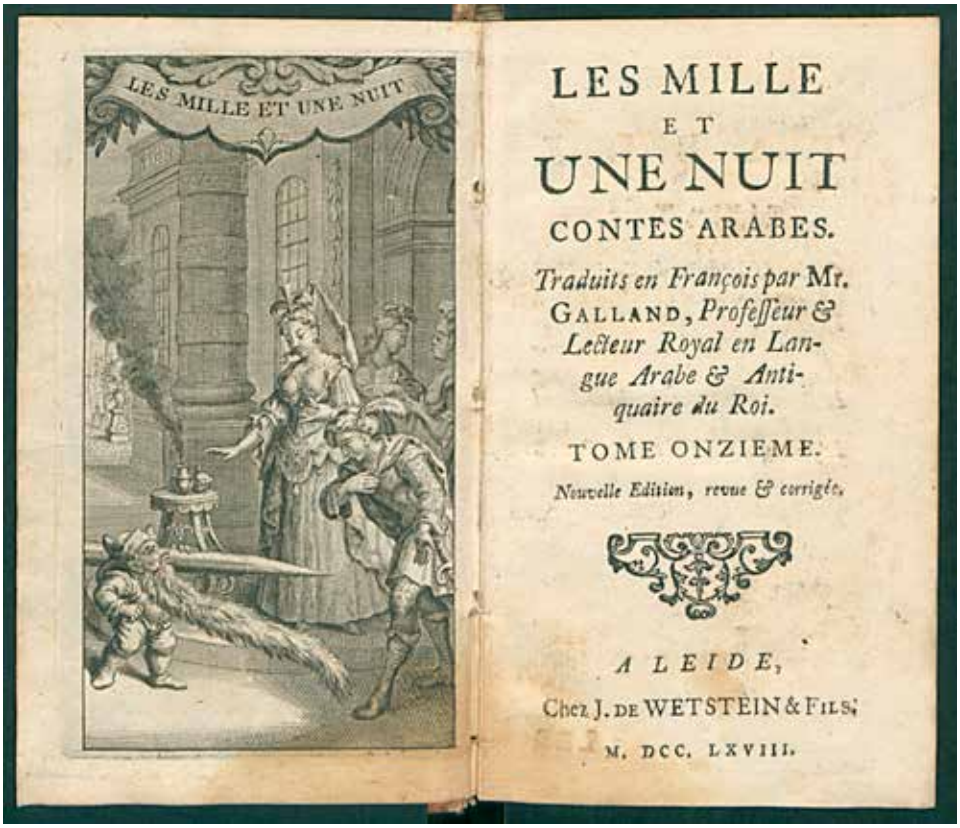
Copies of the 1768 Wetstein edition survive in German public collections in Berlin, Emden, Jena and Weimar, and it would seem that the publishers intended it almost exclusively for export to Germany.[27] In his younger years, Jacobus Wetstein had several times undertaken the arduous and expensive journey to the *Buchmesse* in Leipzig when he was still working in association with his father Rudolph in Amsterdam, and the firm may even have had a branch office in Leipzig. But even if the Wetsteins did not attend the book fair in person, they may have given their books in commission to other Dutch firms from Amsterdam or Leiden who were active in Leipzig.[28] We know that in 1768 the firm of Wetstein offered one single French title for sale at the fair, but it is impossible to tell whether this was the edition of the *Nights*.[29] Nevertheless, the Wetsteins also sold their wares locally

26 Jacobus or Jacob Wetstein (1706-before 1775) was the son of the well-known Amsterdam printer Rudolph Wetstein (1679-1742). He started working for his father and took over the Amsterdam business upon his father's death, but moved to Leiden in 1757. His first Leiden impression is dated 1758. His son Rudolph Hendrik (1741-c.1799) worked together with him between 1766 and 1773, but he appears never to have been active as a printer in his own right. See Van Eeghen (1960-1978), vol. 4, p. 182; Gruys & De Wolf (1989), p. 196. We would like to thank Professor Paul Hoftijzer (Leiden) for generously sharing his research materials with us.

27 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek, Emden; Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena; Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar. With many thanks to Dr Christoph Rauch of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, and the staff of the Abteilung Historische Drucke, who kindly assisted us in obtaining digital reproductions of the Wetstein edition.

28 Rietje van Vliet, *Elie Luzac (1721-1796): boekverkoper van de Verlichting*, [Nijmegen]: Vantilt, 2005, pp. 189-190.

29 Gustav Schwetschke, *Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis: Mesz-Jahrbücher des Deutschen Buchhandels* [...], Halle: G. Schwetschke, 1850, p. 250.

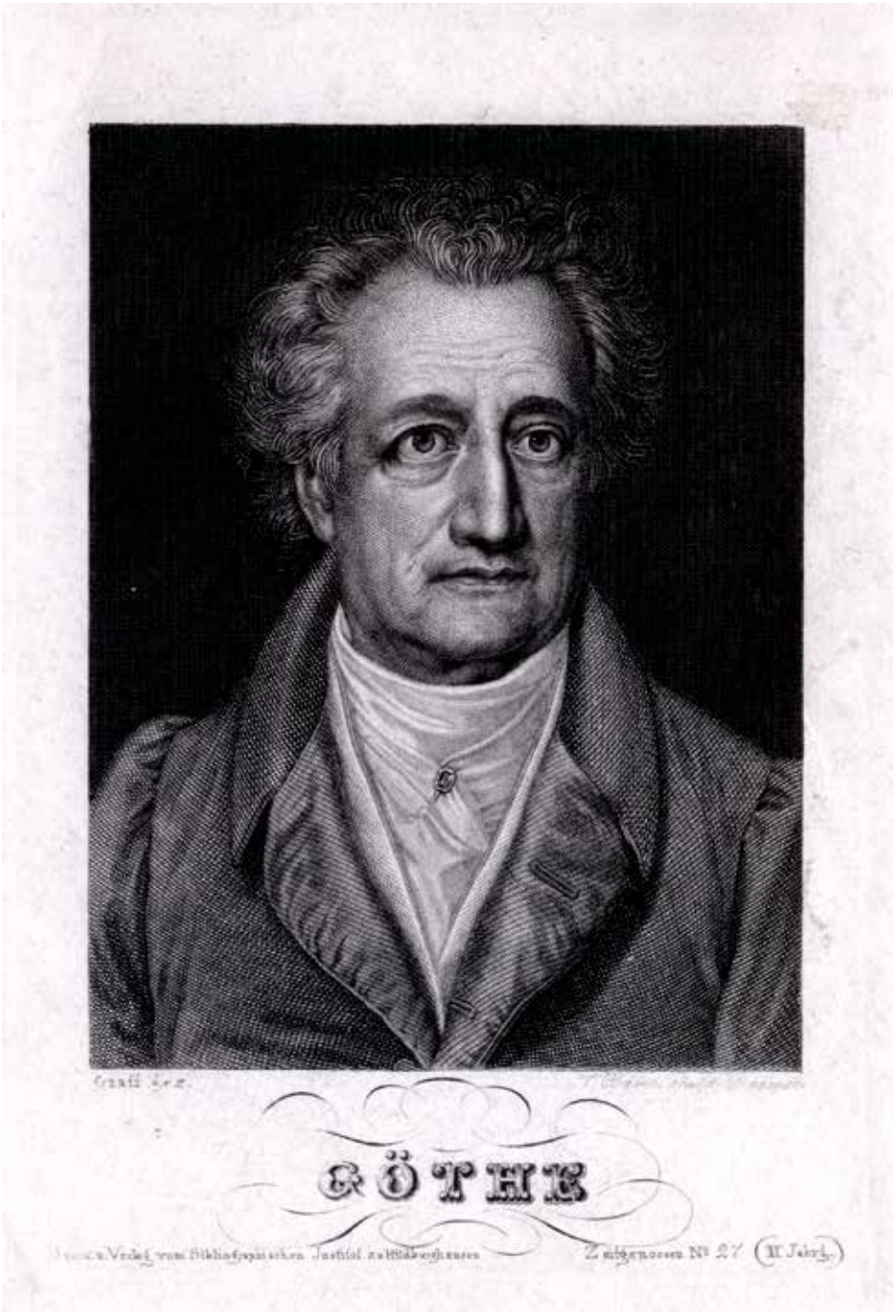


Re-edition of the Husson *Nights*, Leiden, J. de Wetstein & *fils* 1768, with David Coster's engraving of Prince Ahmed and the fairy Paribanou
© Berlin, Staatsbibliothek

in the Dutch Republic, since Jan Jacob Schultens (1716-1778), professor of Oriental languages at Leiden, owned a copy in his private library.[30]

A copy of the 1768 Wetstein edition kept in the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek in Weimar has a celebrity factor which is too attractive to be ignored, for it was once perused by the 'Olympian' Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832). It is hardly possible to overestimate the influence of the *Nights* on European literary culture in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but for Goethe (1749-1832), the author of the *West-östlicher Divan*, the *Nights* were 'a faithful companion' (*ein treuer Begleiter*) throughout his long life. It was his friend Christoph Martin Wieland (see above, p. 24) who acquainted Goethe with the *Thousand and one nights*, whose

30 *Bibliotheca Schultensiana, sive Catalogus librorum quos collegit* [...] *Johannes Jacobus Schultensius* [...], Leiden: apud Henricum Mostert, 1780, p. 470, No. 5348.



Carl Friedrich Barth after Anton Graff, portrait of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in *Galerie der Dichter*, 1831

influence henceforth permeated his entire literary work, correspondence and diaries.[31] Yet it appears that he never personally owned a copy of Galland's French translation. Instead, he borrowed the 1768 Wetstein edition from the Ducal library at Weimar, of which he was director from 1797 onwards.[32]

'A Amsterdam, et se trouve à Paris'

Finally, Galland's complete text appeared as volumes 7-11 of *Le cabinet des fées, ou collection choisie des contes des fées, et autres contes merveilleux, ornés de figures*, a comprehensive octavo edition of French fairytales in 37 volumes, collected by the Chevalier Charles-Joseph de Mayer (1751-1825).[33] It contains not only the well-known Western classics by authors such as Charles Perrault and Madame d'Aulnoy but also a wide variety of Oriental (and pseudo-Oriental) tales by Cardonne, Caylus, Chavis & Cazotte, Gueullette, Moncrif, Nadal, Pajon, Pétis de la Croix and Ridley. This edition of the *Thousand and one nights* was published in 1785-1786 with an anonymous imprint reading 'A Amsterdam, et se trouve à Paris, rue et Hôtel Serpente' (At Amsterdam, and to be had in Paris, *rue* and *Hôtel* Serpente). Each volume is illustrated with three exquisite line engravings designed by Clément-Pierre Marillier (1740-1808). The official permission to print, the *approbation et privilège du roi*, is conspicuously missing, as would only be normal in a foreign publication. Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that any of these volumes were either printed or published in Amsterdam. The Paris address in the rue Serpente is that of the bookseller Gaspard-Joseph Cuchet (c.1750-1833), whose prospectus is printed at the head of the first volume.[34] And to remove all remaining doubts, the colophon of the same volume mentions the name of the Paris printer Claude (II) Simon, whose

31 For a detailed analysis of this influence, see Katharina Mommsen, *Goethe und 1001 Nacht*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960.

32 Currently the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar. See Mommsen (1960), pp. 320-321; Elise von Keudell & Werner Deetjen, *Goethe als Benutzer der Weimarer Bibliothek: ein Verzeichnis der von ihm entliehenen Werke*, Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1931, No. 487, 530, 832, 1510. We gratefully acknowledge the kind help of Dr. Stefan Höppner, project leader of the *Goethe Bibliothek online*, via https://lhwei.gbv.de/DB=2.5/, accessed 8 November 2018. The Weimar copy of the 1768 Leiden edition was previously in the collection of Goethe's predecessor as librarian, Christian-Friedrich Schnauss (1722-1797). The two were friends and it is possible that before 1797 Goethe borrowed the book from Schnauss personally, but this remains unattested.

33 'The cabinet of fairies, or choice collection of fairytales, and other marvellous tales, enhanced with plates'. Copies are extant in the Library of the University of Amsterdam, OTM: O 76-23-59 and in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, 184 G 1.

34 Frédéric Barbier, Sabine Juratic & Annick Mellerio, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et gens du livre à Paris, 1701-1789*, vol. 1, A-C, Genève: Droz, 2007, pp. 587-590.

Clément-Pierre Marillier, engraving of Prince Ahmed and the fairy Paribanou, *Le Cabinet des fées*, 'Amsterdam' [i.e. Paris] 1785-1786, vol. 11, p. 404

shop was in the rue St.-Jacques.[35] Why this easily detectable subterfuge? Amsterdam was, of course, a place where many forbidden French books were printed to evade the heavy hand of the censor, but the *Cabinet des fées* is hardly a political work. It has been suggested that the obvious absence of the royal *privilège* and the wholly imaginary place of publication were used by a resourceful publisher 'pour donner à sa publication un parfum d'interdit qui facilite sa vente'.[36]

But even if the *Cabinet des fées* has nothing to do with the Dutch Republic from a bibliographic point of view, it nevertheless seems that Marillier allowed himself to be inspired by David Coster, the illustrator of the pirate editions from The Hague in the early eighteenth century. His engravings of Aladdin and the Magic Lamp and of Prince Ahmed and the fairy Paribanou bear an undeniable resemblance to Coster's work, although they are doubtless of a more sophisticated design and execution.[37]

As a preliminary conclusion, it must nevertheless be noted that the existence of several French-language editions of Galland's *Nights* from the Dutch Republic does not necessarily imply a deeply rooted interest among local readers, even if we take into consideration that the Dutch élite was well versed in French. Publishers such as the Hussons and the Wetsteins essentially worked for an international market, and their success is amply shown by the fact that their editions are well represented in modern public collections throughout the world. It is interesting to note, though, that no academic library in France appears to possess a French-language Galland edition from the Netherlands.[38]

The Dutch version of the *Nights*

The actual popularity of the *Nights* in the Dutch Republic can much better be assessed with the help of a Dutch version, which would only have been of interest to readers within the Dutch-speaking areas: the Republic and the Southern or 'Austrian' Netherlands. In their respective bibliographies of Dutch fictional prose, both M. Buisman and Jenny Mateboer cite several such retranslations from the

35 Auguste-Martin Lottin, *Catalogue chronologique des libraires, et des libraires-imprimeurs de Paris* [...], Paris: Lottin, 1789, repr. Amsterdam: Grüner, 1969, pp. 158-159.

36 'So as to give his publication a whiff of the forbidden to boost the sales': Jean-Marie Goulemot, 'Nouveautés: les utopies', in: Henri-Jean Martin et al. (eds), *Histoire de l'édition française*, vol. 2, *Le livre triomphant 1660-1830*, [no place]: Promodis, 1984, pp. 231-239, here 236-237.

37 [Charles-Joseph de Mayer, ed.], *Le Cabinet des fées*, 37 vols, Amsterdam [i.e. Paris: no publisher], 1785-1786, vol. 10, p. 365 (Aladdin); vol. 11, p. 404 (Prince Ahmed and the fairy Paribanou).

38 According to *SUDOC: le catalogue du Système universitaire de Documentation*, online via http://www.sudoc.abes.fr, accessed 8 November 2018.

eighteenth century.[39] We shall now try to elaborate on their findings with the help of digital bibliographic tools and electronic text repositories which did not exist in their time, such as WorldCat, Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog, Google Books, Picarta and Delpher.[40] More specialised websites include that of the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), where extensive information can be found on engravers, or Ton Harmsen's extremely useful *Census Nederlands Toneel* (CENETON), a conspectus with detailed bibliographic information on more than 12,000 Dutch plays published up to 1803.[41]

The oldest copy of a Dutch retranslation of Galland's *Mille et une nuit* extant in the Netherlands is *De duizent en eene nacht, Arabische vertellingen*, published in 1738 by the Amsterdam bookseller Pieter Aldewerelt or Aldewereldt.[42] The translator signed his work with his initials 'G.D.F.', and his identity shall be discussed in detail below. Aldewerelt ran his business from a shop on the corner of Keizersgracht and Wolvenstraat. He became a member of the booksellers' guild in 1728 and was active until his death in 1739.[43] His business was continued by his widow. Unfortunately, no complete set of this edition survives: Amsterdam University Library (UBA) holds only the first two parts in one volume.[44] Yet from an advertisement in the Dutch press we know that this translation actually consisted of eight parts, all printed in the same year: 1738.[45] Aldewerelt published only one other title in the Oriental genre, *Zaïre, bekeerde Turkinne. Treurspel* ('Zara, the Converted Turkess. A Tragedy'), an undated adaptation of Voltaire's *Zaïre* by Fredrik Duim (1674-c.1751).

Apart from the author's name, another mysterious element in the 1738 edition is a clumsily hand-coloured frontispiece engraved by Jan Lamsvelt (also Lamsveld,

39 M. Buisman & F.J. Dubiez, *Populaire prozaschrijvers van 1600 tot 1815*, Amsterdam: B.M. Israël, [1960], No. 1704-1707; Jenny Mateboer, *Bibliografie van het Nederlands narratief fictioneel proza, 1701-1800 = A bibliography of prose fiction written in or translated into Dutch, 1701-1800,* Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1996, No. 316-320.

40 *Delpher*, online via http://delpher.nl, is a repository of out-of-copyright Dutch journals, newspapers and other printed resources. *Picarta*, online via http://picarta.nl, is the National Union Catalogue of the Netherlands. Picarta also includes the *Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands* (STCN), a retrospective national bibliography of books published between 1540 and 1800. All three sites are hosted by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

41 For the RKD website, see https://rkd.nl/en/home, accessed 8 November 2018; Ton Harmsen, *Census Nederlands Toneel* (CENETON), online via http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/, accessed 8 November 2018.

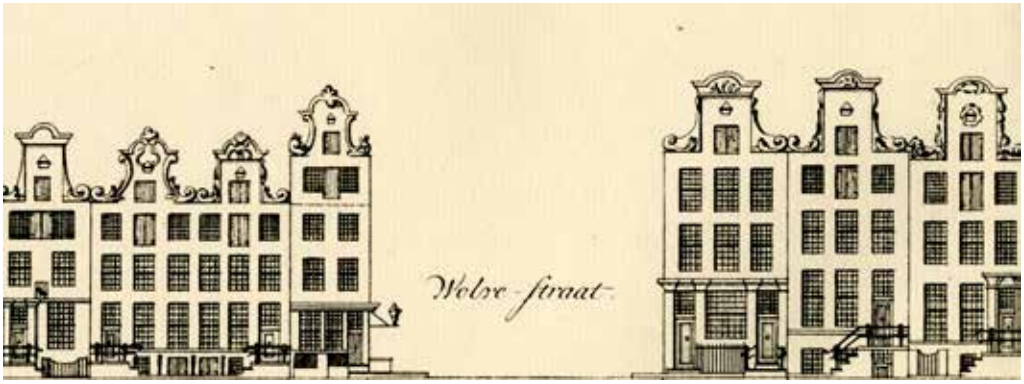
42 Mateboer (1996), No. 316; Gruys & De Wolf (1989), p. 3.

43 Van Eeghen (1960-1978), vol. 5, p. 340.

44 UBA shelfmark OTM: OK 63-4409.

45 *Amsterdamse Donderdaegse Courant*, 16 October 1738, No. 124, p. [2] bottom, online via www.delpher.nl, accessed 8 November 2018. The price was three guilders and four stuivers, or eight stuivers per individual part.

De duizent en eene nacht, Arabische vertellingen, Amsterdam, Aldewerelt 1738, hand-coloured frontispiece by Jan Lamsvelt after David Coster
© Universiteit van Amsterdam



Pieter Aldewerelt's shop on the corner of Keizersgracht and Wolvenstraat, in *Het Grachtenboek van Caspar Philips*…, repr. Amsterdam 1930, plate 14

1674-1743) from Amsterdam.[46] It is obviously a copy of David Coster's frontispiece for the later Husson editions of the French text. Curiously, it is dated 1709 and mentions Hendrik Bosch in Amsterdam as the publisher rather than Aldewerelt himself. This suggests, of course, that a copper plate had been used from an earlier edition which had appeared that year.[47]

In 2015 our further inquiries revealed the existence of an earlier Dutch translation entitled *De duysent en eene nacht, Arabische vertellingen. Uyt het Frans vertaalt, door G.D.F.*, a duodecimo co-edition by Hendrik Bosch of Amsterdam and Gillis Knotter of Leiden, which was printed between 1719 and 1725 rather than in 1709. The only surviving copy is preserved in the library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (USA). It is a complete set of eight parts, identically bound in two volumes, without any obvious marks of ownership.[48] Here, too, we find the same 1709 frontispiece by Jan Lamsvelt after David Coster as the one that was later to be used for the 1738 edition. However, the existence of a Hendrik Bosch edition of the *Nights* dateable to 1709 is out of the question, since neither he nor his co-publisher

46 Waller (1938), p. 192; *RKD*, online via https://rkd.nl/en/home, accessed 8 November 2018.

47 Buisman (1960), p. 296, No. 1704-1707; see also Mateboer (1996), pp. 79-83; Dohmen (2000), p. 83; Gruys & De Wolf (1989), p. 20.

48 Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, shelfmark 892.7 Ar1D1719, 8 parts in 2 vols, online via http://www.library.illinois.edu/catalog/, accessed 8 November 2018. We are greatly indebted to Katherine E. Bergen, Michael A. Norman and Tony J. Hynes of said library for generously sharing their expertise with us. Remarkably, the Illinois copy was acquired from two different sources. According to the library records, the first volume (parts 1-4) was donated by 'Shapiro', most likely the well-known New York City bookdealer Solomon Reuben Shapiro (1911-1990); the second volume (parts 5-8) was donated by 'A.W. Anderson', who could be identical with the New Zealand-born Krishnamurti scholar Allan W. Anderson (1922-2013), who taught theology and Oriental philosophy at San Diego State College. The dates of acquisition are unknown. Selected scans of the book were kindly made available to us by Dennis Sears.

De duysent en eene nacht, trans. 'G.D.F.' [Gilbert de Flines], Amsterdam & Leiden, Bosch & Knotter 1719-1725, frontispiece by Jan Lamsvelt after David Coster
© University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Gillis Knotter were active at this time, as we shall see below. Moreover, Ghisbert Cuper would probably have mentioned the appearance of any Dutch translation from before 1715 in his letters to Galland. Most likely, the date on the engraving is simply a mistake.

This edition contains the preface and the first eight parts of Galland's Paris edition, and the subdivision into parts closely follows the French example. The repetitive formula of Shahrazad finding herself alive each morning is dropped at the beginning of part three 'because it could displease the Dutch readers', and from the beginning of part seven the nights are no longer numbered. It is perhaps coincidental that these eight parts contain the text of Galland's original Arabic manuscript with only a few insertions from extraneous sources at the end, the so-called 'orphan stories'. The composition of the Illinois copy is slightly irregular.

The individual parts are not in chronological order, and only the parts published in 1719-1720 bear the joint Bosch-Knotter imprint.[49] As in the Husson editions, it is very well possible that single volumes which had sold out were reprinted with a new year on the title page. The complete edition seems to have been available by 1720.[50] Apart from the frontispiece in the first part, the edition contains no further illustrations, most probably in an effort to cut expenses. Apparently, the prospective buyers of the Dutch edition were not as affluent as the more genteel readership of the French editions. In general, this distinction holds true for all editions of the *Nights* in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic: all French-language editions have varying frontispieces in each part, whereas the Dutch-language editions have only one single frontispiece in the first part and no further illustrations at all.

Hendrik Bosch (active 1715-1729) was an Amsterdam publisher/bookseller who had his shop 'opposite the Girls' Orphanage' ('over 't Meisjens Weeshuys'), most likely in the Sint-Luciënsteeg, where the girls' hall of the city orphanage had its monumental entrance. Little is known about his life. He registered as a bookbinder in January 1715 and as a bookseller in 1716. When he drowned in 1729 his business was continued by his widow and possibly his apprentice Johannes Tissie.[51] In all, 163 Hendrik Bosch imprints are still kept in public collections in the Netherlands.[52] From these books it appears that he published exclusively in Dutch, which was far from common practice at the time. His choice of Dutch also suggests that he served a clientele who did not – or could not – read French. Their literary, social and political tastes are to a large extent reflected in Hendrik Bosch's publications, which are dominated by satirical comedy (*comédie de moeurs*) and downright farce. Amongst the Dutch authors of some repute who published with him and who have not been entirely forgotten are, for instance, Pieter Langendijk (1683-1756) and, more importantly, the painter and satirist Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677-1747), who as a rare exception in the Dutch Republic suffered captivity on account of his critical writings and died in prison. Bosch also published a few translated works by the foremost French playwrights of the previous century such as Molière, Corneille and Racine.

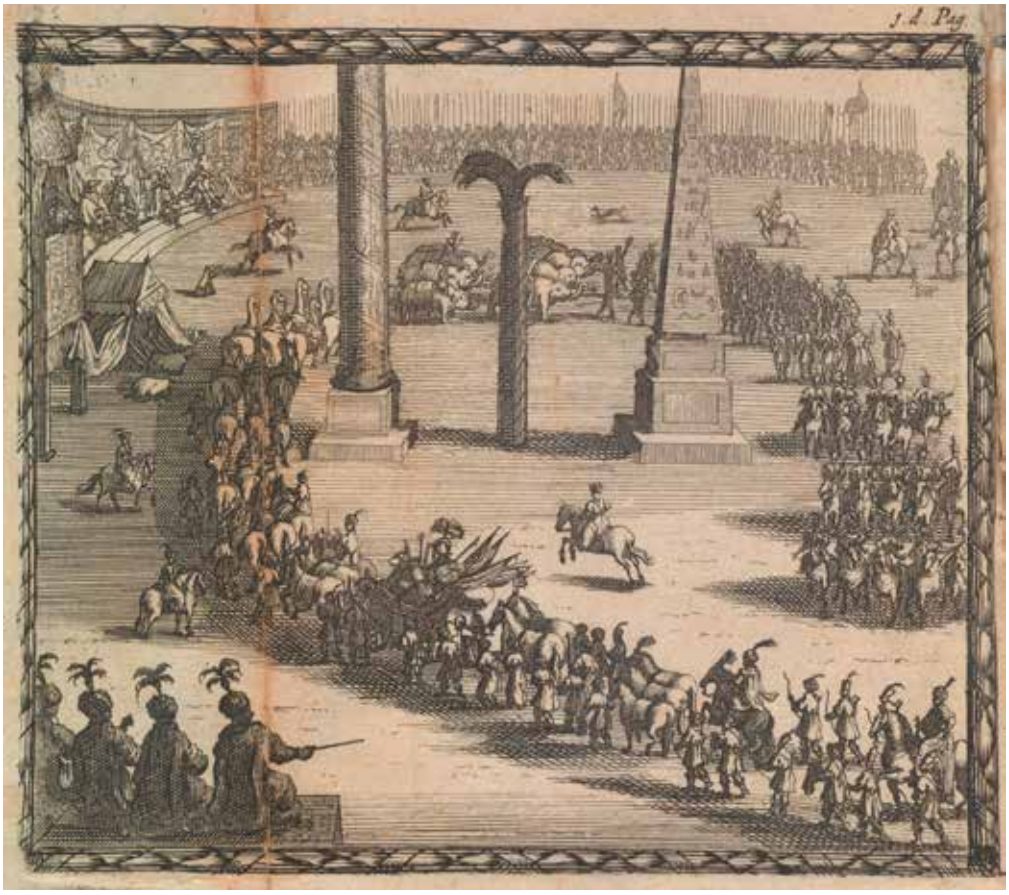
49 The composition of the University of Illinois copy is as follows: Part 1: Bosch & Knotter, 1719. – Part 2: Bosch & Knotter, 1720. – Part 3: Bosch, 1724. – Part 4: Bosch & Knotter, 1719. – Parts 5-8: Bosch, 1725.

50 The bookseller's lists added by Bosch to his various publications between 1720 and 1725 consistently mention a *Nights* edition in four volumes. If we assume that each two parts were bound into one volume, this would mean that the complete edition was available as early as 1720. The lists can be consulted in the following books preserved in the Library of the University of Amsterdam: Lucianus, *Charon of de bezienders* (1720); A. Constantini, *Het leven van Scharamouche* (3rd ed., 1723); G. Tysens, *Apollo's marsdrager* (vol. 2, 97th ed., 1725).

51 Van Eeghen (1960-1978), vol. 5, pp. 341, 350.

52 *Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands* (STCN), online via http://picarta.nl, accessed 8 November 2018.

Gijsbert Tysens, *De gevlugte verliefden, met de Turksse kwakzalver,* Amsterdam, Hendrik Bosch 1721



Madeleine de Scudéry, *Des doorluchtigen Bassa Ibrahims*, trans. Simon de Vries, Amsterdam, Bosch & Lobé 1723: parade at the Hippodrome, Istanbul

Apart from the edition of the *Nights*, Bosch published a fair share of other titles with an Oriental flavour, however superficial. An example of actors cross-dressing as 'Turks' occurs in a farce from 1718, *Crispyn, Mogol, of De gewaande Turk* ('Crispin Moghul, or, the Presumed Turk'), by Jacob Clyburg.[53] Another masquerading Turk takes the stage in *De gevlugte verliefden, met de Turkse kwakzalver* ('The Fugitive Lovers, and the Turkish Quack'), a comedy written by Gijsbert Tysens (1693-1732) and published in 1721.[54] In this play a 'Turkish' quack called Mustaffa Soliman

53 Published together with Gillis Knotter, Leiden; Harmsen, CENETON, No. 019390. Crispin is a stock character in French farce, playing the role of the sly and resourceful manservant. He was introduced into seventeenth-century French theatre by the playwright Paul Scarron (1610-1660).

54 Harmsen, CENETON, No. 088720.

speaks a curious mixture of fake German and Dutch, thus stressing his outlandish origin while remaining comprehensible to his audience.[55] In a far more serious vein we have *Des doorluchtigen Bassa Ibrahims, en der volstandige Isabellae, wonder-geschiedenissen* ('Miraculous histories of the exalted Ibrahim Pasha and the Constant Isabella', 1723), a retranslation by Simon de Vries of the French novel *Ibrahim ou l'illustre Bassa* by Madeleine de Scudéry (1607-1701).[56] An example of contemporary European-Ottoman politics is Bosch's publication of an ode to Prince Eugene of Savoy after his victory over the Turks at the battle of Petrovaradin on 5 August 1716: *De nederlaag der Turken, onder het geleide van den doorluchtigen veldheer den prinse Eugenius van Savoye op den 5den Augustus, 1716* ('The Defeat of the Turks, under the Command of His Serene Highness Prince Eugene of Savoy on the Fifth of August, 1716').

The co-publisher of the 1719 edition of the *Nights*, Gillis Knotter of Leiden, was much less prominent.[57] We know that he was an apprentice of Frans (I) de Does in 1707-1711 and master in 1713. He ran a shop at Rotterdamse Veer or Rotterdam Ferry close to the Waag or Weigh House in Leiden, where passengers embarked on the canal boats for Rotterdam.[58] It may have been little more than a stall where people bought books to alleviate the boredom of the journey. The *Short title catalogue of the Netherlands* (STCN) lists only seventeen titles by him, published between 1716 and 1721, and he most likely gave up printing in the latter year.[59] Out of these seventeen titles, no fewer than twelve were published in conjunction with Hendrik Bosch, and it would appear that Knotter acted as an agent for Bosch rather than as an independent publisher. In any case, it explains why Knotter's name does not appear on the title page of the *Nights* volumes published after 1721.

The early history of the *Thousand and one nights* in the Dutch Republic reveals the international orientation of the Dutch printing business, which served not only the domestic intellectual élite but also foreign markets, mainly France, Germany and England. This reflected the networks of such scholars and of Dutch trade. It is therefore no coincidence that the first translator of the *Mille et une nuit*, the mysterious G.D.F., was a member of the merchant class, as we shall see in the next chapter.

55 The name Mustaffa Soliman is presumably based on a character in a tragedy in the Oriental style by Frans Zegers (dates unknown) which appeared in 1719: *Mustaffa Soliman of de verwoede wraaksugt: treurspel: onder de zinspreuk Virtus Vincit Omnia*, Amsterdam: Joris van der Woude ('Mustaffa Soliman, or the furious revenge: a tragedy under the motto "Virtue Conquers All"'), Harmsen, CENETON, No. 084190.

56 Published together with Adam Lobé. Buisman (1960), No. 2096; Mateboer (1996), No. 310-01, 310-02.

57 Gruys & De Wolf (1989), p. 40.

58 We gratefully acknowledge the information on Gillis Knotter kindly provided by Professor Paul Hoftijzer (Leiden University). The Waag is still standing; its present-day address is Aalmarkt 21.

59 *Short title catalogue of the Netherlands* (STCN), online via http://picarta.nl, accessed 8 November 2018.

5 Gilbert de Flines

As already noted above, both in the 1719 and 1738 Dutch editions the translator identified himself only by his initials 'G.D.F.'. He was in all probability Gilbert de Flines, a silk merchant from an Anabaptist Mennonite family in Amsterdam.[1] This identification is supported by the dedication of the work to Pieter and Arent van der Meersch, two prominent members of the same religious minority in Amsterdam and scions of a wealthy family of soap manufacturers with strong cultural interests.[2] The De Flines family hailed from French Flanders and migrated from their native town of Wattrelos to Antwerp in 1566, and from there to Amsterdam in 1584.[3] They distinguished themselves as silk weavers and textile merchants with commercial interests in Asia, London and the British colonies in North America. The family was economically successful, but as Dissenting Protestants they found themselves outside the inner circle of political influence, the so-called *regenten*. In *Nederland's Patriciaat*, the genealogical standard work on the Dutch *grande bourgeoisie*, a thorough survey of the family did not appear until 2007.[4] From the early years of the eighteenth century, members of the family started leaving the Anabaptist community and entered either the Remonstrant Church or the Walloon Reformed Church (*Église wallonne*) in order to remedy this problem of social exclusion, but with varying success. Prominent members of the family in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries include Hendrik de Flines (1760-1832) and Quirijn de

1 We are indebted to Ernst-Jan Munnik of the Special Collections Services department of Leiden University Library, and Gwendolyn Verbraak of the Special Collection department of the library of the University of Amsterdam, who successfully searched their respective library databases for Gilbert de Flines on the basis of his initials. Also, the obsolete card catalogue of Leiden University Library turned out to contain a hand-typed see-reference from G.D.F. to Gilbert de Flines. For various biographical sources on Gilbert de Flines, see *Biografisch portaal van Nederland*, online via http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/13459507, accessed 8 November 2018.

2 On the Van der Meersch family, see *Global Anabaptist Mennonite encyclopedia online*, via http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Meersch,_van_der,_family, accessed 8 November 2018.

3 The family archives of the De Flines family are kept in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam, see the inventory by D.C. de Clerq, *Archief van de Familie De Flines*, inv. No. 1303, pdf version 80.1, 16 October 2016, online via https://archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/overzicht/1303.nl.html, accessed 8 November 2018. In the family papers, Gilbert de Flines is indicated by the code L2, see pp. 18-19. There is also a Stichting Familie De Flines (De Flines Family Foundation), based in Terheijden, Noord-Brabant, which does not maintain a website. For the coat of arms of the De Flines family, see A.A. Vorsterman van Oyen, *Stam- en wapenboek van aanzienlijke Nederlandsche familiën met genealogische en heraldische aanteekeningen*, 2 vols, Groningen: Wolters, 1885-1890, vol. 1, plate 30 facing p. 272.

4 *Nederland's Patriciaat*, The Hague: Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 1910-..., 88 (2007-2008), pp. 65-115; for Gilbert de Flines see p. 76.

Cornelis Troost, oil portrait of a member of the Van der Meersch family, who were close with the De Flines, 1736
© Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Gerard de Lairesse, drawing of Philips de Flines closeted with his art collection, c. 1665

C.P. Schaap, Huis Messina, home of the De Flines family on Herengracht 164 (right), 1957
© Amsterdam, Stadsarchief

Flines (1771-1847), who were both active in the world of art and learning.[5] In modern times the family has been closely associated with the world of stationery, printing and publishing.

Gilbert de Flines, the Dutch translator of the *Nights*, was born on 19 February 1690 as the son of Philips (1640-1700) and his second wife Agatha Steyn (1661-1697), the

5 A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, new ed., 21 vols, Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, 1878, vol. 6, pp. 105-106.

daughter of a Haarlem burgomaster.[6] His father Philips was not only an enormously wealthy silk manufacturer and merchant but also an art collector and amateur botanist. The Walloon painter Gerard de Lairesse (1640-1711) made two sketches of him as a young man amidst his collection of paintings, books, drawings and statuary, and in 1682 painted his portrait in oils.[7] The same painter also decorated his imposing house Messina on Herengracht 164. Philips de Flines also owned a country pile called *Spaarenhout*, which no longer exists in its original form.[8] Gilbert grew up in an inspiring home full of art and books, but his mother died when he was only a boy of seven, and the death of his father in 1700 left him an orphan at the age of ten. It is not known where or how he spent the rest of his childhood, nor is anything known about his education. Like many young men of his rank, he may have attended the local Athenaeum Illustre.

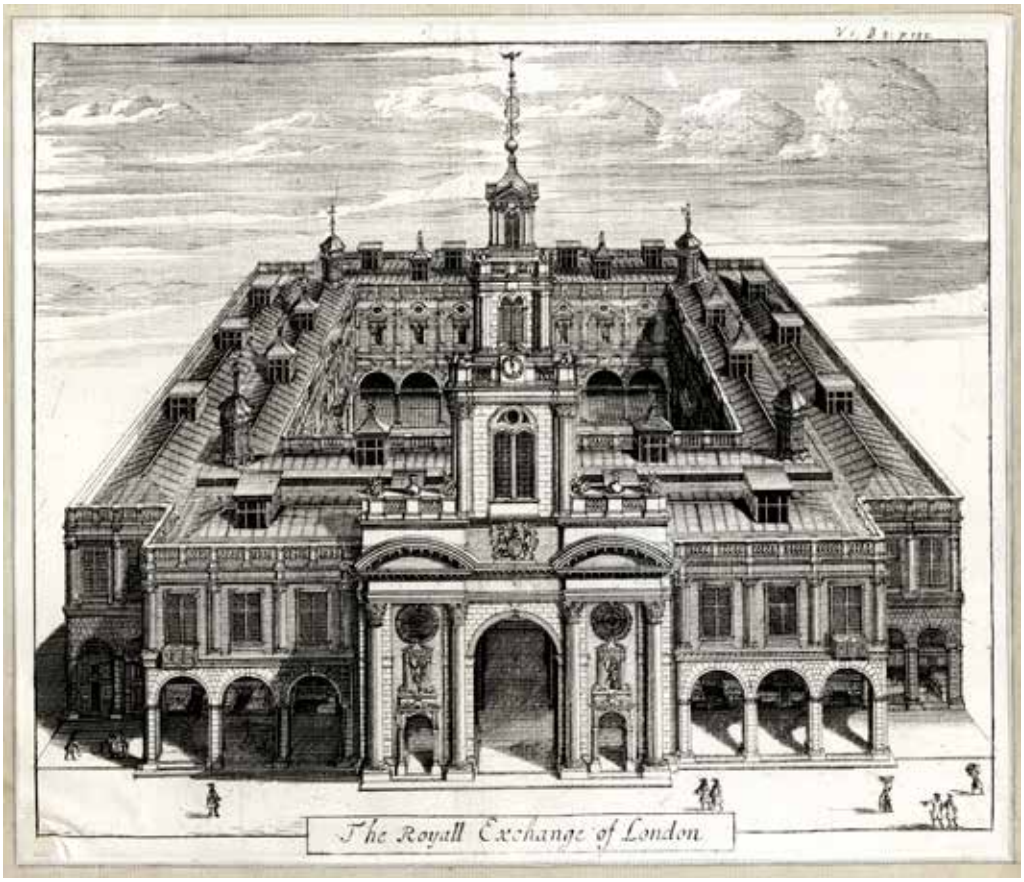
As a young man, Gilbert established himself as a merchant in the Doelenstraat, Amsterdam, engaging in the import of raw and woven silk from Asia and the export of silks all over the world. In 1711, at the age of 21, he married Susanna Elisabeth du Pree. A small collection of poetry on the occasion of their marriage was published by Hendrik van de Gaete, Amsterdam.[9] Unfortunately, his wife died in childbirth three years later, leaving him with a one-year-old daughter who would survive into adulthood, Agatha Maria (1713-1745). In 1719 he moved to London like many other Amsterdam merchants of Huguenot or Jewish origin. Operating from London, they had access to the British colonial trade and stock market. It is enticing to imagine that his business contacts with the colonies in North America may also have accounted for the presence of the first edition of his Dutch translation of the *Nights* in Illinois, although De Flines never travelled to America himself. More important, however, was his role as a correspondent for wealthy Dutch investors who bought up a sizeable portion of the British national debt. In 1720 he obtained British citizenship and was appointed attorney. In 1736 he lived in Angel Court,

6 G. de Flines, 'De Weduwe Jacob de Flines en Zoonen: correspondentie uit de periode 1722-1729', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 77 (1985), pp. 89-106, here p. 93.

7 The sketches by Gerard de Lairesse of Philips de Flines in his study are in the Leiden University Library, classmark PK-T-AW 4798, and in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, classmark RP-T-1913-15. The oil portrait of 1682, in which Philips de Flines wears a robe of Oriental silk, is in the Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, inventory No. GK 461. There is an elaborate description of his art collection in a panegyrical poem by Govert Bidloo, *Mengel Poëzy*, Leiden: Langerak, 1719, pp. 173-185.

8 'Spaarenhout' refers to its location between the river Spaarne and Haarlemmer Hout, the Haarlem Forest. But it can also be read as 'Spaar en Hout', 'Save and Keep', an appropriate name for a merchant's country house. In spite of the name, the family eventually lost the place to close relatives, the De Neufville family.

9 *Op het huwelyk van den heere Gilbert de Flines, en mejufvrouw Susanna Elisabeth du Pré: in den echt vereenigt op den 20ste van Wintermaand 1711*, Amsterdam: Hendrik van de Gaete, [1711]; De Clerq (2016), p. 18



Johannes Kip, *The Royall Exchange of London*, in John Strype, *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster*, London 1720, book 2, p. 135

Throgmorton Street. In his 1720 survey of London, John Strype described the address as 'very large and handsome, garnished with good Buildings, the Habitation of Merchants, and People of Repute'.[10] De Flines's home was only a stone's throw from the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, where he conducted most of his business. Gilbert never remarried but had a relationship with a certain Mary Williams-Hayes, whose house was in George Street (now York Buildings), Strand, a respectable but not very grand address. He also had natural children with her.

In the last years of his life Gilbert bought the freehold of a property in Bromley-by-Bow, Middlesex, but its size, location and value are not known. His will does not

10 J. Strype, *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster*. 2 vols, London: A. Churchill [etc.], 1720, book 2, p. 132..

reveal him as an extremely wealthy man.[11] Mary Williams was to receive an annuity of £50 'and all my household goods plate linen and furniture that shall happen to be in her possession in the house or lodgings where she shall happen to reside at the time of my death'. His clerk John Liefken and the executors of the will, his friends and fellow Dutch merchants John de Neufville and Gerard Bolwerk, were to receive £100 each for their trouble. Apart from these legacies, all of his property went to his only legitimate daughter Agatha Maria de Flines. Nevertheless, he must have been a man of substance, for large sums of money passed through his hands, and he must also have had property in the Netherlands. He died on 14 February 1739, leaving his home in the country to his common-law wife, and was buried in the Dutch Reformed church in Austin Friars. His grave was destroyed during a Nazi air raid in the Second World War.[12]

But what would explain his personal interest in the *Mille et une nuit*? De Flines was, of course, exposed to the same *Turquerie* vogue as the rest of his countrymen, but as a silk merchant he was also actually in touch with the Orient, although he never went there himself. The costly silks he imported or manufactured may very well have clad the buffoon Crispyn during his performance of the aforementioned farce 'Crispin Moghul, or The presumed Turk', or the gibberish-speaking Turkish quack Mustaffa Soliman in 'The fugitive lovers'. Furthermore, as the son of a wealthy connoisseur, literature must have come naturally to him. In this respect it is interesting to note that Gilbert's father Philips was a prominent member of the literary society Nil Volentibus Arduum ('Nothing is Arduous for the Ambitious'), founded in 1669. This society sought to improve the deplorable tastes of the Dutch public by promoting French Classicist drama and publishing reliable Dutch translations of the best French plays together with a commentary.[13]

That Gilbert saw a role for himself in this field is shown by his other, admittedly modest literary achievements besides his retranslation of the *Nights*. In 1711, the year of his marriage at the age of 21, he privately published a slim volume of poetry in Dutch, based on an eminent example from Classical Antiquity: *Bygedichten op*

11 A copy of his last will and testament of 8 July 1736, together with its codicil dated 27 March 1736 and probation by the Archbishop of Canterbury, are kept in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Inv. No. 1303/141.

12 Ibid., Inv. No. 1303/142, contains glass negatives of his gravestone which are too fragile to be consulted or reproduced in digital format. A facsimile of the coat of arms and inscription on this gravestone can be found in W.J.C. Moens, *The marriage, baptismal, and burial registers, 1571 to 1874, and monumental inscriptions, of the Dutch Reformed church, Austin Friars, London*, Lymington: [privately published], 1884, pp. 151, 191.

13 On Nil Volentibus Arduum, see B.P.M. Dongelmans, *Nil Volentibus Arduum: documenten en bronnen: een uitgave van Balthazar Huydecopers aantekeningen uit de originele notulen van het Genootschap*, Utrecht: Hes, 1982. Between pp. 2-3, a diagram explains the place of the De Flines family within the network of the society; A.J.E. Harmsen, 'Onderwys in de tooneel-poëzy: de opvattingen over toneel van het kunstgenootschap Nil Volentibus Arduum', Doctoral dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1989.

Genteel society in Amsterdam: 'Nemo loquebatur' (No one spoke), gouache by Sara Troost after Cornelis Troost, 1770
© Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

de zinnebeelden, getrokken uit Q. Horatius Flaccus, ('Accompanying poems to the emblems drawn from Q[uintus] Horace Flaccus').[14] It is based on a popular illustrated work by the Leiden artist and engraver Otho Vaenius or Otto van Veen (1556-1629).[15] Perhaps out of modesty, Gilbert de Flines published this little *travail de jeunesse* anonymously, but the dedication to his brother is signed with his initials G.D.F., just like his translation of the *Thousand and one nights*. The posthumous second edition (Amsterdam 1797), however, bears his full name, which greatly helped to identify De Flines as the Dutch translator of the *Nights*. In August 1719, the year of his departure for London and also of the printing of the first part of his retranslation of

14 *Bygedichten op de Zinnebeelden: getrokken uit Q. Horatius Flaccus: naar de geestryke vinding van Otto Vaenius*, [Amsterdam:] Gedrukt voor den auteur, en syn te bekomen, by Hendrik van de Gaete, 1711.

15 For the editions of Otto van Veen's emblem book based on Horace, see John Landwehr, *Dutch emblem books: a bibliography*, Utrecht: Haentjens, Dekker & Gumbert, 1962, pp. 83, No. 240-243.

[Gilbert de Flines], *Bygedichten op de zinnebeelden*…, Amsterdam 1711

the *Nights*, he published a comedy in Dutch under his full name which was actually performed, *De ontrouwe voedster* ('The unfaithful governess'), a rhymed theatrical adaptation of the French novel *Le diable boiteux* by Alain-René Lesage (1668-1747), in which virtue eventually triumphs over immorality.[16] It must be assumed that De Flines was equally familiar with the other works of Lesage, who was an assiduous participant in the world of Orientalist letters, as already noted above.

Nevertheless, it requires a certain effort to make the translation of the *Nights* fit into this general atmosphere of admiration for the Classics and French Classicist drama. Apparently, Gilbert did not slavishly follow in his father's footsteps. He chose his own literary pursuits but to all practical purposes shared his father's ambition to acquaint the public with French literature in Dutch translation. Whereas the father still clung to the ponderous alexandrines of Corneille and Racine as propagated by Nil Volentibus Arduum, his son appreciated the flowing and exotic style of Galland's tales, and in doing so emulated the new fashion of the coming Rococo generation.

Gilbert de Flines enjoyed the recognition of the Dutch world of letters, although this may have been partly instigated by his fortune and his role as a patron of the arts. The aforementioned Pieter Langendijk once offered a poem to him on the occasion of his birthday, entitled 'Thalia', in which he declared somewhat sycophantically that De Flines's name was 'soaring to the stars on the twin wings of Commerce and Literature'.[17] A far more interesting example, however, is a dedication from the publishers Johannes Oosterwyk and Hendrik van de Gaete,[18] who honoured Gilbert de Flines as 'a Prominent Merchant, and Lover of all the Arts and Sciences'. It was prefaced to the Dutch translation of Woodes Rogers' *A cruising voyage round the world*, which appeared in 1715, only three years after the English original.[19] Of course, this dedication reflects De Flines's role in the Asian and American trade, but the work in question also contains a description of the rescue by the same expedition of the Scottish castaway Alexander Selkirk, who survived for four years on an uninhabited island in the Pacific. He may have stood model for Daniel Defoe's *The life, and strange surprizing adventures of Robinson Crusoe* of 1719, a novel

16 *De ontrouwe voedster: bly-spel door Gilbert de Flines*, Te Amsteldam: By de Erfg[enamen] van J. Lescailje en Dirk Rank, 1719.

17 'Op dees twee vleugels zweeft uw naam ter sterren in', *Pieter Langendyks Gedichten*, 4 vols, Amsterdam: Wed. B. Visscher; Haarlem: J. Bosch, 1721-1760, vol. 1, p. 320; De Clerq (2016), p. 19.

18 *I.e.*, the same Hendrik van de Gaete who published the celebratory poems on the occasion of Gilbert de Flines's marriage in 1711, and De Flines's poems to the little emblem book of Otto Vaenius, also of 1711, see above, pp. 85-86.

19 'Den Heere Gilbert de Flines, Voornaam Koopman; Beminnaar van Alle Kunsten en Wetenschappen', dedication in Woodes Rogers, *Nieuwe reize naa de Zuidzee, van daar naa Oost-Indien, en verder rondom de waereld, begonnen in 1708, en geëyndigd in 1711*, translated by C.P., Amsterdam: Johannes Oosterwyk & Hendrik van de Gaete, 1715. Not in Buisman or Mateboer; De Clerq (2016), p. 19.

Jan Lamsvelt, engraving of the rescue of Alexander Selkirk in Woodes Rogers, *Nieuwe reize naa de Zuidzee…*, Amsterdam 1715, p. 106

that was almost immediately translated into French and Dutch.[20] From a literary point of view, Selkirk's exotic adventures must surely have appealed to the Dutch translator of the *Nights*. Oosterwyk and Van de Gaete were by no means strangers to the world of exotic learning, for together with Rudolph and Gerard Wetstein they cooperated in the printing of a richly illustrated re-edition of Cornelis de Bruijn's *Reizen over Moskovie, door Persie en Indie* (1714).[21]

In his private life Gilbert de Flines witnessed several tragical incidents which no doubt left a mark on him. As already said, he was orphaned in 1700 when he was only ten years old, and at the end of the same year his cousin Elisabeth de Flines eloped with her father's servant, a romantic folly that was to lead to much personal distress and years of legal proceedings over her inheritance.[22] The fact that Gilbert's wife died after only three years of marriage may also have caused him to believe in the fickleness of life which is so aptly expressed in the *Nights*. Or perhaps the young widower found solace in the translation of Galland's fantastic tales. In any case, his new life as a merchant and financier in London from 1719 onwards, and the exigencies of family life with his partner Mary and their children, must have prevented him from ever publishing anything in the sphere of *belles lettres* again.

Whatever may have been Gilbert de Flines's interest in the *Thousand and one nights*, it was through his translation that the work was introduced to a wider Dutch readership. His translation served as the basis for several later eighteenth-century editions, which will be examined in the following chapter and which confirm the continuing interest in the work throughout the century.

20 Rogers 1715, pp. 106ff.; Daniel Defoe, *La vie et les avantures surprenantes de Robinson Crusoe*, 3 vols, Amsterdam: chez L'Honoré et Chatelain, 1720-1721; idem, *Het leven en de wonderbare gevallen van Robinson Crusoe: nu uit het Engels vertaald en met figuren benevens een nette kaart zyner zwerving verrykt*, 3 vols, Amsterdam: By de Jansoons van Waesberge, 1720-1722.

21 *Cornelis de Bruins reizen over Moskovie door Persie en Indie: verrykt met driehondert konstplaten* [...], Amsterdam: Rudolf & Gerard Wetstein, Joannes Oosterwyk, Hendrik van de Gaete, 1714. Re-edition of Amsterdam: Willem & David Goeree for the author, 1711. See Jef Schaeps, 'From the Maghreb to India: a list of travel accounts to the Islamic world, published in the Netherlands from 1500 to 1900', in: Jef Schaeps, Kasper van Ommen & Arnoud Vrolijk (eds), *Oostersche weelde: de Oriënt in westerse kunst en cultuur*, Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2005, pp. 209-268, here p. 219, No. 41.

22 See the documentary novel by Machiel Bosman, *Elisabeth de Flines: een onmogelijke liefde in de achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam: Atheneum, Polak & Van Gennep, 2008.

6 Later editions in the eighteenth century

Gilbert de Flines's translation enjoyed a steady popularity until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and after Pieter Aldewerelt's 1738 edition it was reissued several times. Not all of these editions have come down to us, however, so in some cases our reconstruction can only be tentative. This is true for an edition which was advertised in the *Leydse Courant* of 20 August 1742. On that day, the Amsterdam bookseller Isaak Spaan announced that he had a ninth, 'final' part of the *Nights* in duodecimo format for sale which had not been published previously. The name of its translator was not mentioned. Spaan added that the whole set in nine parts was still available for 3 guilders and 14 stuivers. Where did the other eight parts come from? Spaan started his business only in 1742, which makes it rather unlikely that he was able to print a whole new edition, let alone a new translation, on such short notice. It must therefore be assumed that it was still the translation of Gilbert de Flines, except for the last part. The same advertisement gave 'Keizersgracht, on the corner of Wolvenstraat' as Spaan's address, and this is exactly the same as Pieter Aldewerelt's. Most likely, Spaan took over Aldewerelt's bookshop from his widow and probably also the remaining stock, including the *Nights*.[1] It is the first edition to have drawn the attention of the eighteenth-century bibliographer Johannes van Abkoude in the 1743 edition of his *Naam register of verzaameling van Nederduytsche boeken* ('Title list or inventory of Dutch books'), but the year 1724 mentioned by him must be a mistake, since this is many years before Spaan started his business. It is not likely that Van Abkoude ever saw the book.[2]

Almost exactly two years later, in 1744, history repeated itself along similar lines. In the *Leydse Courant* of 24 August 1744 the Amsterdam bookseller Steven van Esveldt (active 1735-1776),[3] who at that time had a shop in the Beurssteeg alley close to the old City Hall, also offered a complete duodecimo edition in nine parts for three guilders. Again, this edition is lost, but it is only reasonable to assume that it was still the same De Flines translation with an added ninth part. It may have been newly typeset, or just the old stock with or without a replaced title page

1 *Leydse Courant*, 20 August 1742, online via www.delpher.nl, visited 8 November 2018.

2 Johannes van Abkoude, *Naam register of verzaameling van Nederduytsche boeken die zedert de jaaren 1640 tot 1741 zyn uytgekomen*, Leiden: Johannes van Abkoude, 1743, p. 16. The price listed by Van Abkoude, 3 guilders and 14 stuivers, exactly matches the one mentioned by Spaan in his advertisement in the *Leydse Courant* of 1742; Buisman (1960), No. 1704, also mentioned an edition in 9 parts published by Spaan in 1724 but gave no further details, which suggests that he had copied the reference from Van Abkoude's *Naam register* of 1743; Van Eeghen (1960-1978), vol. 5, p. 337. See also Gruys & De Wolf (1989), pp. 165-166.

3 Van Eeghen (1960-1978), vol. 5, p. 343; Gruys & De Wolf (1989), p. 63.

bearing the name of the new publisher. It is not known if this edition was illustrated with an engraved frontispiece.[4]

By 1755 Van Esveldt had moved to 'the Kalverstraat, the third house from the Romish church De Papegaay'.[5] In that year, when the heirs of Pierre Husson were still successfully selling re-editions of Galland's French text, Van Esveldt decided to give a new lease of life to the Dutch retranslation under the title *De Duizend en ene nacht: Arabische vertellingen*.[6] The 'Tweden druk' or second printing, as it was announced in the foreword, was the first to contain a Dutch version of Galland's complete original text in twelve parts. The existing nine parts were revised to adapt to changing spelling conventions, and three new parts were added. In contrast with the smaller duodecimo editions of the past, he chose the larger octavo format. According to an advertisement in the *Leydse Courant* of 16 April 1756, the price of a complete set was four guilders.[7] Van Esveldt omitted Galland's original preface, most likely because he mistook it for the foreword of the previous publisher. Neither did he mention 'G.D.F.' or Gilbert de Flines as the translator of the first eight parts, and his name was consequently forgotten.[8] The name of the translator(s) of the other parts has never been discovered. In marked contrast with all previous editions of De Flines's translation, which survive only in single (incomplete) copies or not at all, this 1755 octavo edition seems to have stood the test of time, since copies are preserved in various libraries in the Netherlands.[9]

For his 1755 edition of the *Nights*, Van Esveldt chose a modernised version of the multi-image frontispiece by David Coster which Husson had used for his later editions, and which also enhances the Dutch retranslations of Bosch & Knotter (1719) and Aldewerelt (1738). This new engraving was made by Gerard Sibelius,

4 *Leydse Courant*, 24 August 1744, online via www.delpher.nl, accessed 8 November 2018; Johannes van Abkoude, *Aanhangsel en vervolg op het Naam register of versaameling van Nederduytsche boeken, die in het voorgaande ontbreken, als mede die geene, die na dien tydt tot 1744 zyn uytgekomen of herdrukt*, te Leiden: by Samuel Genet, 1745, p. 12: 'Arabische enz. voegt daar agter nu by S. van Esveldt, 3 gl. – idem het 9de deel apart by Esveldt, 9 st' ('Arabian etc. add now at S. van Esveldt, 3 guilders. – ditto, the 9th part separately at Esveldt, 9 stuivers'), no date given.

5 The present-day address of the Roman Catholic church De Papegaay ('The Parrot') is Kalverstraat 58.

6 *De Duizend en ene nacht: Arabische vertellingen*, in octavo, 12 parts in 4 vols, Amsterdam: Steven van Esveldt, 1755. Buisman (1960), p. 296, No. 1705; Mateboer (1996), p. 79-80, No. 317.

7 *Leydse Courant*, online via www.delpher.nl, accessed 8 November 2018; Johannes van Abkoude, *Vierde aanhangsel of vervolg, op het Naam register van Nederduytsche boeken, die in de jaaren 1753, 1754 en 1755, zyn uytgekomen, of herdrukt, of de copye verandert zyn*, te Leiden: by Cornelis de Pecker, 1756, p. 6.

8 Based on the information provided by the surviving editions, this implies that all editions published during De Flines's lifetime have his initials on the title page, and that all posthumous editions are anonymous.

9 University of Amsterdam; Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague; Centre Céramique, Maastricht; Tilburg University. See www.picarta.nl, accessed 8 November 2018.

Gerard Sibelius, new frontispiece to *De duizend en ene nacht*, Amsterdam, Van Esveldt 1755

who was born in Amsterdam in 1734, moved to London around 1770 and died there in 1785.[10] The bedchamber scene in the centre is basically unchanged, but the perspective is from the right, and Dinarzad sports a wimple. The surrounding pictures are the same as in the earlier engravings but in a different order. The late Baroque architectural frame, however, has given way to a border of Rococo swags, scallops and acanthi.

In 1770 Van Esveldt published a similar third edition (*De Duizend en ene nacht*),[11] and subsequently an undated fourth edition with a title in a different, more Baroque spelling (*De Duysend en eene nacht*).[12] Both the third and fourth editions are well represented in Dutch libraries. Leiden University Library possesses a copy of the fourth edition which was donated as recently as 1939 by the Protestant minister Henri-Jacques Couvée (1867-1946).[13] In the fourth edition the number '1792' is printed at the end of the last volume, but this can hardly be the year of publication, since Van Esveldt had died many years earlier in 1776.[14] Therefore, a date around 1775 would be a fair guess. This was the last edition by Van Esveldt and also the last of the retranslations of Gilbert de Flines, the remarkable merchant and *homme de lettres*.

The *Nights* in the Southern Netherlands

In the Southern Netherlands under Austrian rule (now Belgium), the Dutch-language tradition of the *Nights* in the eighteenth century had so many distinctive characteristics in comparison with the Dutch Republic that it merits our closer attention. Writing from the perspective of the Flemish emancipation of the nineteenth century, Belgian scholars such as Eugène De Bock and Ludo Simons have drawn a bleak picture of education and culture in the region. The élite spoke and read exclusively French, while the Dutch-speaking common people were largely illiterate. In fact, only three per cent of the entire population had received any formal education at all. Halfway between the two extremes was a small middling class which would later carry the torch of the social and cultural

10 Waller (1938), p. 300; *RKD*, online via www.rkd.nl, accessed 8 November 2018.

11 Buisman (1960), p. 296, No. 1706; Mateboer (1996), p. 80, No. 318.

12 Vols 3 and 4 (parts 6-12) have 'Duyzend' instead of 'Duysend'. Buisman (1960), p. 296, No. 1707; Mateboer 1996, p. 82-82, No. 320.

13 UBL 2432 G 17-20, accession number *45875. See MS Leiden, University Library, Bibliotheek Archief 2, S 44.17 (1939-1943).

14 Buisman (1960), No. 1705-1707; Mateboer (1996), No. 317-318, 320. The Leiden University Library copy of the undated fourth edition bears the shelfmark 2432 G 17-20. The copies of the fourth edition kept in the Library of the University of Amsterdam have been attributed to the year 1792 in the online catalogue.

DE
DUYZEND EN EENEN
NAGT,
ARABISCHE
VERTELLINGEN.

EERSTE DEEL.

TOT GEND,
By C. J. FERNAND, Boek-drukker en Boek-verkooper, op den Reep, in S. Auguſtinus.

1788.

De duyzend en eenen nagt, Ghent, Fernand 1788

emancipation movement. In cities such as Antwerp or Ghent there were printer-booksellers – Ludo Simons hesitates to call them publishers – who sold Catholic tracts, lives of the saints, chapbooks and almanacs in Dutch – often in large quantities – for the diversion of the semi-literate after a hard day's work. Many of these 'blue books', named after their characteristic blue paper covers, were translated from French.[15]

A case in point is the printer-bookseller Charles-Jacques Fernand (1753-1827), who in 1778 started a small shop at the sign of St Augustine in De Reep, Ghent.[16] Among his employees was a typesetter, Jean-Baptiste Rommel (dates of birth and death unknown), who advised his master to print a number of popular French works in Dutch translation. He reportedly translated books on the fly while doing his typesetting and corrected his own proofs. An example of his work is *De duyzend en eenen Nagt, arabische vertellingen*, an octavo edition of the *Nights*, published in 1788 in 12 parts of equal length and usually bound into four volumes. The original price for the set was 4 florins and 16 sols.[17] In this edition the subdivision into nights is suppressed altogether, and neither is there a table of contents. Apparently, Rommel did not have De Flines's translation at hand, or he would not have gone to the trouble of making his own.

Finally, a reprint in octavo of this Ghent edition appeared in 1807 by H.J. Bonhomme in the little town of Veurne, not far from Dunkirk.[18] The Leiden copy of this work retains its original blue paper cover. Neither edition contains illustrations or a frontispiece, probably to keep the price of the book down. Thus, after little more than a century, the literary exploits of Antoine Galland, which had once dazzled the European aristocracy and bourgeoisie, had become a *gesunkenes Kulturgut* for the barely literate in the provinces.

15 Eugène De Bock, *Verkenningen in de achttiende eeuw*, Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1963, pp. 29-34; Ludo Simons, *Het boek in Vlaanderen sinds 1800: een cultuurgeschiedenis*, Tielt: Lannoo, 2013, pp. 17-19.

16 'boek-drukker en boek-verkooper, op den Reep, in S. Augustinus'. De Reep is a street along the river Nederschelde, not far from the Sint-Baafskathedraal or St Bavo's Cathedral. A copy of 12 parts in four volumes is kept in Ghent University Library [BIB.G.002228/1-2].

17 Ferd. Vanderhaeghen, *Bibliographie gantoise: recherches sur la vie et les travaux des imprimeurs de Gand, 1483-1850*, 7 vols, Gand: Eug. Vanderhaeghen, 1858-1869, vol. 4, pp. 142-143, 152, No. 5991; Mateboer (1996), p. 80-82, No. 320.

18 *De Duyzend en eenen nagt: Arabische vertellingen*, 12 pts, tot Veurne: H.J. Bonhomme, Boekdrukker en Verkooper, in d'Iper-straete, No. 60, 1807. The address Iper-straete no longer exists; it is perhaps identical with the present-day Zuidstraat or Ieperse Steenweg.

The leap to Asia

Decades after the last edition of Van Esveldt and well into the nineteenth century, the Dutch East Indian translator and teacher Carel Frederik Winter (1799-1859), a native speaker of Javanese who lived and worked in Surakarta, made a Javanese retranslation of Galland's *Nights*.[19] A single-volume edition of his translation was published in Batavia (now Jakarta) in 1846, but between 1847 and 1849 a complete, two-volume edition was issued by Professor Taco Roorda (1801-1874), who taught Javanese at the 'Indische Instelling', a training college for colonial civil servants in Delft.[20] Winter's original Javanese manuscript is preserved in the Leiden University Library.[21] The first volume and part of the second were based on the translation by Gilbert de Flines as published by Van Esveldt in 1755; the remainder on a more modern Dutch version edited between 1829 and 1831 by Hendrik Frijlink (1800-1886).[22] Winter was director of the Javaansch Instituut in Surakarta, a school for Dutch and Javanese students who prepared for a career as interpreters in the colonial administration. Lamenting the lack of suitable prose texts in Javanese which could serve as a primer for his students, Winter set about providing these himself. In Delft, Roorda used the text for the same purpose. In the academic community, however, Winter's efforts were much less appreciated. The Leiden professor Pieter Johannes Veth, who was generally regarded as an expert on all matters Javanese although he had never set foot on the island himself, dismissed the translation as 'winter Javanese'.[23] Ironically, Roorda was critical about Winter's mastery of Dutch, which was not his first language, and added that he had not always correctly understood the idiom of the mid-eighteenth-century edition. In spite of the colonial background of the retranslation, the Arabic tales, which were previously unknown in Indonesia, actually struck root in local society. The

19 On Carel Frederik Winter, see J. Paulus et al., *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 9 vols, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1917-1939, vol. 4, pp. 786-87.

20 *Duizend en één nacht: Arabische vertellingen = Sĕrat cariyos sewu satunggil dalu: naar de Nederduitsche vertaling in het Javaansch vertaald door C.F. Winter Sr.: uitgegeven door T. Roorda*, 2 vols, The Hague: Fuhri, 1847-1849.

21 MS Leiden University Library, Or. 1839.

22 See Roorda's preface to Carel Frederik Winter's edition, vol. 1, pp. [i-ii]. See also the descriptions by Marijke Klokke and Jan Just Witkam in Arnoud Vrolijk, Marijke Klokke & Jan Just Witkam, *Duizend min één boek: de 1001 Nacht in de collecties van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek: handschriften, tekstedities en vertalingen*, Leiden: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 1994, pp. 36-39, 56-58, 62; The second edition used by Winter is Hendrik Frijlink, *Duizend en één nacht: Arabische vertellingen: de nieuwste en volledigste Fransche en Hoogduitsche uitgaven gevolgd, met platen*, 9 vols, Amsterdam: bij Hendrik Frijlink, 1829-1831. Frijlink's version followed a French translation by Edouard Gauttier d'Arc, and also copied its engravings by Charles-Abraham Chasselat.

23 P.J. Veth, 'Levensbericht van Taco Roorda', *Levensberichten der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Jaarboek* 1874, pp. 17-58, here p. 37.

Lithographed portrait of Carel Frederik Winter, signed, c. 1840-50

Manuscript of C.F. Winter's Javanese translation of the *1001 Nights*, Leiden University Library, Or. 1839, fol. 1b

various translations inspired the famous Komedie Stamboel, a vaudeville theatre in Batavia in the 1890s, to stage several plays based on *Thousand and one nights* stories.[24] The work still remains popular today.

But even as early as the second half of the eighteenth century, the Dutch version of the *Nights* had penetrated as far as Japan in the trunks of Hendrik Godfried Duurkoop (Dürkopp?, 1736-1778), an East Frisian who enlisted with the Dutch East India Company and arrived at the factory of Deshima, Nagasaki, in 1759. In 1776 he rose to the rank of 'opperhoofd' or chief of the Dutch establishment. When returning from a trip to Batavia, he died on board in July 1778. Among his small private library of about 105 items we find not only a copy of the Dutch *Nights* (*i.e.* in the translation of Gilbert de Flines) listed as '1000 en een nagt Arab[ische] vertell[ing]en' but also a book called 'Mohamat Alkoran', which must be Jan Hendrik Glazemaker's Dutch version of the seventeenth-century French Qur'an translation by André Du Ryer. There can be little doubt that these were the earliest copies of either book ever to arrive on Japanese soil. After Duurkoop's tragic death his books were sold to other employees of the Dutch factory at Deshima.[25]

Thirty years later, in 1808, a certain Age Iges, another Dutchman in Deshima, sold his books when returning to Batavia. He, too, appears to have possessed both a Qur'an translation and a Dutch edition of the *Nights*.[26] Logic demands that these were the same books as the ones that had previously been in the possession of Duurkoop and that they had gone from hand to hand ever since without leaving Deshima. Eventually, the copy of the *Nights* found its way to 'opperhoofd' Jan Cock Blomhoff (1779-1853), who returned to the Netherlands in 1824.[27] Thus the *Nights* must have been available in Deshima between 1759 and 1824, and the official Japanese-Dutch interpreters in Deshima may have seen or even read it, but this did not result in a Japanese retranslation. In fact, the first Japanese version of the *Nights* was not published until 1875, soon after the Meiji Restoration, and it was

24 Matthew Isaac Cohen, 'On the origin of the *Komedie Stamboel*: popular culture, colonial society, and the Parsi theatre movement', *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-, en volkenkunde* 157 (2001), No. 2, pp. 313-357.

25 Kiyoshi Matsuda, *Yōgaku no shoshiteki kenkyū*, Kyoto: Rinsen-shoten, 1998, pp. 691-695, see No. 32 and 93.

26 Matsuda (1998), pp. 369-370, 375-376. Matsuda identifies this edition as Van Esveldt 1755.

27 Mohamed Hassan Elnoby, 'Social map of Japanese translation of One Thousand and One Nights during Edo period', [no place], no date, p. 6. Online via www.academia.edu, accessed 8 November 2018; Sugita, Hideaki, 'Bakumatsu/Meijiki no 'Arabian Naito' (Hoi), *Odysseus: Tokyō Daigaku Daigakuin Sōgō Bunka Kenkyūka Chiiki Bunka Kenkyū Senkō Kiyō* 15 (2010), pp. 1-24, here 1-2. We would like to express our sincerest thanks to Ms Nadia Kreeft, curator at Leiden University Library, for helping us with a translation of the Japanese text. Likewise, we are grateful to Dr Daan Kok, curator at the National Museum of World Cultures, Leiden, for kindly providing us with a digital reproduction of a Japanese print of Opperhoofd Jan Cock Blomhoff.

Japanese woodblock print of Jan Cock Blomhoff, his infant son Johannes and the nurse Petronella, Nagasaki, 19th century
© Leiden, National Museum of World Cultures

based on an English adaptation by the Rev. George Fyler Townsend (1814-1900) rather than a Dutch version.[28]

Nevertheless, it shows that the work of Gilbert de Flines found its way to the far corners of the globe, from Europe to Indonesia, Japan, and possibly also to America. This is not only due to the personal achievement of De Flines but also to the reach of the Dutch mercantile network in earlier centuries.

28 Tetsuo Nishio, 'The Arabian Nights and Orientalism from a Japanese perspective', in: Yuriko Yamanaka & Tetsuo Nishio (eds), *The Arabian nights and Orientalism: perspectives from East and West*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2006, pp. 154-167, here p. 158.

7 Dutch Orientalism in the eighteenth century

As we have seen above, Dutch Oriental studies in the seventeenth century were mainly confined to the domains of history and linguistics. This reflected a general trend in Europe, where Oriental scholars had only a marginal interest in fictional literature. As can be seen from the correspondence between Cuper and Galland, the stories of the *Mille et une nuit* were looked down upon and considered trivial, probably even more so in the Protestant Dutch Republic than in Catholic France. This began to change, at least to some extent, in the eighteenth century due to an increased interest in Oriental literature. Paradoxically, this went hand in hand with a fundamental reorientation of academic studies towards the study of Islam – or rather its refutation – and the use of Arabic in comparative Biblical philology.

In 1701, upon his nomination as professor of Oriental languages at the University of Utrecht, Adriaan Reland dedicated his inaugural address to the importance of the Persian language.[1] Unfortunately, Reland never published anything in the domain of Modern Persian *belles lettres*, but he did write two lengthy treatises on Old or Middle Persian vocabulary in the second volume of his *Dissertationes miscellaneae*, published in Utrecht in 1707. Reland dedicated this volume to his learned friend Galland, with whom he shared an interest in numismatics and inscriptions.[2] In 1710 this encouraged Antoine Galland, who was then well over sixty, to donate a couple of Persian manuscripts to Reland with minor poetical works. Thirty years earlier, when he was living in Istanbul, he had copied out the Persian text in his own hand and added his Latin translation. But now, he said, he trusted the text would be in better hands with Reland.[3]

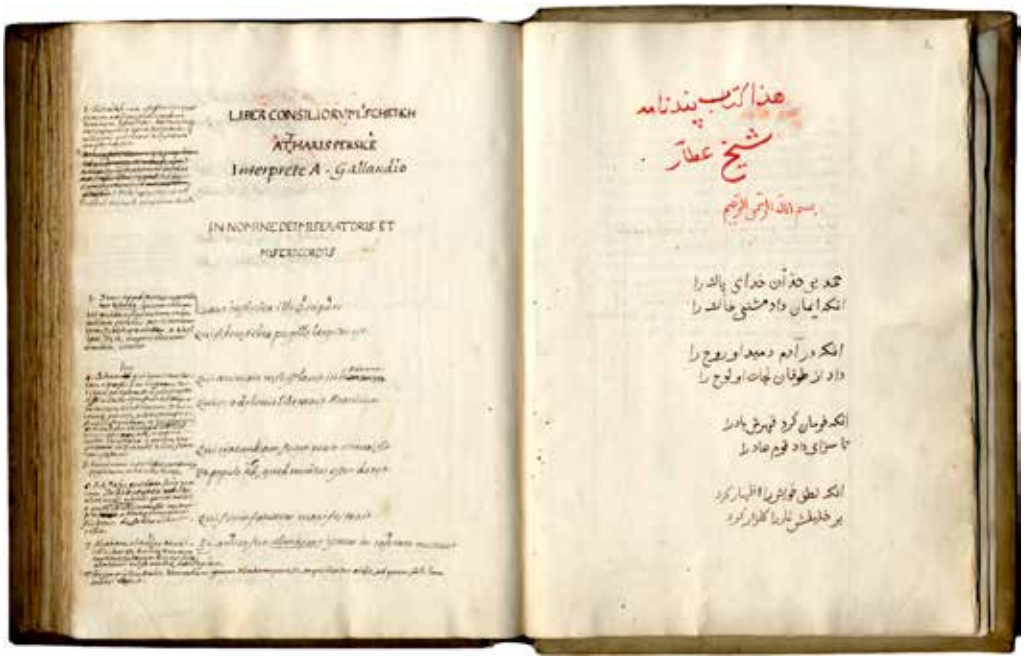
1 Adrianus Relandus, *Oratio pro lingua persica et cognatis literis orientalibus: dicta in acroaterio majore IX kal. mart. MDCCI, quum linguarum orientalium professionem ordinariam in inclyta Academia, quæ Trajecti ad Rhenum est, susciperet*, Utrecht: Guilielmus van de Water, 1701. See also J.T.P. de Bruijn, *De ontdekking van het Perzisch*, Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit, 1990, pp. 10-13.

2 Adriaan Reland, 'VIII. Dissertatio de reliquiis veteris linguae Persicae' and 'IX. Dissertatio de Persicis vocabulis Talmudis', in: *Hadriani Relandi Dissertationum miscellanearum pars altera*, Utrecht: Gulielmus Broedelet, 1707, pp. 97-266, 269-324. For the dedication to Galland, see sig. *2r-*[3]v.

3 These manuscripts were *Pandnama* ('The book of exhortation'), an anonymous didactic poem on Islamic ethics then ascribed to Farid al-Din 'Attar (d. 1221 CE), with a Latin translation by Antoine Galland (MS Leiden, University Library, Or. 1226, autograph), and *Bulbulnama* ('Book of the Nightingale') by the same author and also translated into Latin in Galland's own hand (Or. 1297, autograph). The two manuscripts were later acquired by Jan Jacob Schultens, at whose auction in 1780 they were bought by Leiden University Library.

Johan George Colasius, oil portrait of Adriaan Reland, c. 1710
© Collectie Universiteitsmuseum Utrecht

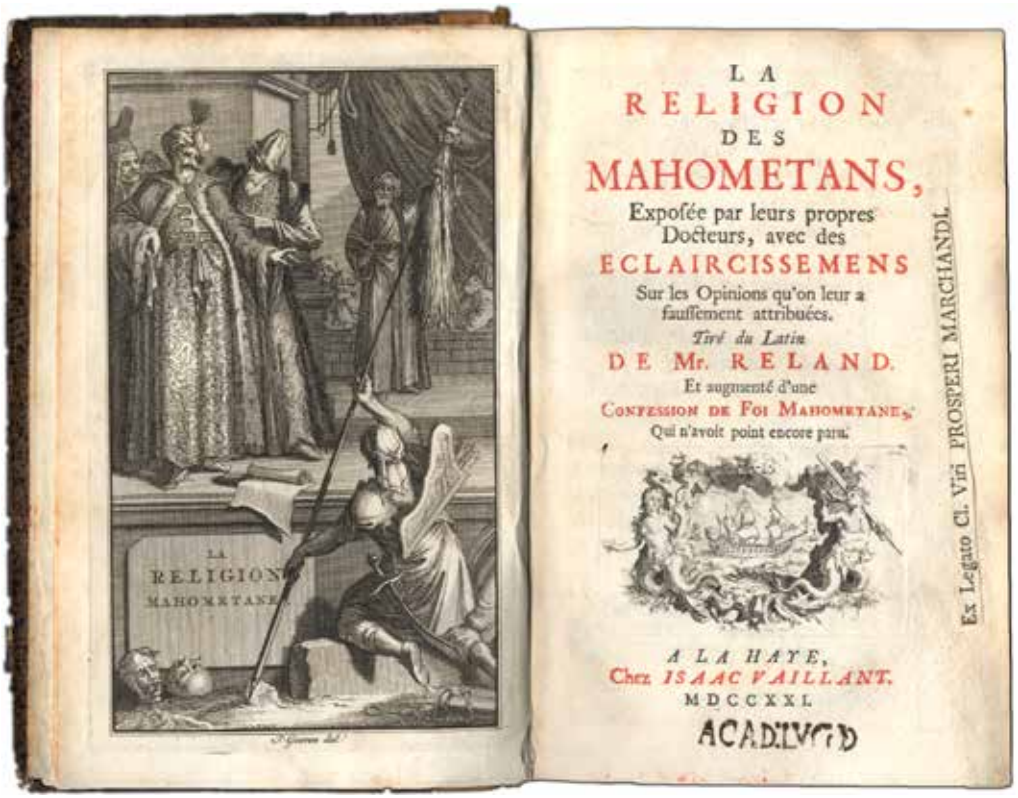
Reland remains famous not for his literary or linguistic interests but rather for his innovative approach to Islam. In 1705 he published a short compendium of the tenets of Islam entitled *De religione Mohammedica*, which was followed by an expanded version in 1717. The work was translated into French, English, German and Dutch and gained renown as the first objective, scholarly description of Islam.



Antoine Galland's copy and translation of the *Pandnamah*, donated to Reland, Leiden University Library, Or. 1226, pp. 2-3

For Reland, as for other Protestant scholars, Islam could only be effectively refuted on the basis of an objective and scholarly evaluation of its doctrines, based on the original Arabic material. He advocated a rational and tolerant approach to Islam and pointed out the distortions in the representations of 'Muhammedanism' by the Catholic Orientalist scholars. The most influential of these was the Italian priest and Orientalist Ludovico Marracci (1612-1700), confessor to Pope Innocent XI, who in 1698 published an Arabic edition of the Qur'an together with a Latin translation and a voluminous refutation. Reland's efforts were not appreciated by the Vatican, and his work was placed on its Index of banned books. The second edition of Reland's compendium contains the first reliable European image of the holy mosque of Mecca, which was based on a painting brought from Istanbul by the Swedish scholar/traveller Michael Eneman (1676-1714).[4]

4 On Reland, see Jan Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen in Nederland in de 18e en de 19e eeuw*, Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1929, pp. 12-21; Vrolijk & Van Leeuwen (2014), pp. 65-72; Alastair Hamilton, 'Arabists and Cartesians at Utrecht', in: Paul Hoftijzer & Theo Verbeek (eds), *Leven na Descartes: zeven opstellen over ideeëngeschiedenis in Nederland in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw*, Hilversum: Verloren, 2005a, pp. 97-105. On the engraving of the Haram Mosque of Mecca and Eneman's original oil painting, see Jan Just Witkam, *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek: de geschiedenis*



Adriaan Reland, *La religion des Mahométans*, The Hague 1721, with frontispiece by Jan Goeree

At the University of Leiden, still the most important centre of Oriental studies in the Netherlands, the humanist tradition of the first generations of Arabists gave way in the eighteenth century to an almost exclusive preoccupation with the use of Arabic as an auxiliary discipline to Biblical studies. As a cognate of Hebrew, Arabic could be used to elucidate obscure passages in Scripture or to solve philological problems in the study of Hebrew. As a result, Arabic acquired the sobriquet of the 'Handmaid of Theology'. In 1710 Johannes Heyman, formerly the Calvinist pastor of the Dutch merchant community in Smyrna, was the first theologian who became professor of Oriental languages. He was succeeded by three consecutive generations of the Schultens family, who occupied the chair in Oriental languages for most of the

van de Dala'il al-khayrat *van al-Gazuli*, Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 2002, pp. 234-237; Mehmet Tütüncü, 'The Uppsala Mecca painting: a new source for the cultural topography and historiography for Mecca', in: Luitgard Mols & Marjo Buitelaar (eds), *Hajj: global interactions through pilgrimage*, Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015, pp. 137-162. Neither Witkam nor Tütüncü note the presence of a very similar oil painting in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.

eighteenth century. Though staunch defenders of the Protestant faith, they also had a varying but not insignificant interest in the literary achievements of the Arabs.

The first generation, Albert Schultens (1686-1750), was appointed reader of Oriental languages in 1729 and professor in 1732.[5] He strictly adhered to the principle of Arabic as the Handmaid of Theology but nevertheless also showed a wider interest in literary texts by publishing fragments on the life of Sultan Saladin from diverse medieval Arabic sources, as well as a partial edition of the *Maqamat* or 'literary sessions' by al-Hariri (1054-1122), a piece of extremely ornate and convoluted prose which has always enjoyed the highest esteem among its Arab readers. However, Albert Schultens is not known to have said or written anything about the *Thousand and one nights*.

Albert Schultens's son Jan Jacob (1716-1778) followed in his father's footsteps by becoming professor of Oriental languages and theology at Leiden in 1749.[6] He never published anything substantial, spending most of his time in disputes on Church affairs with his fellow theologians. Besides, he was an inveterate collector of books: at his death, his private library was nearly as large as the Leiden University Library.[7] In 1780, two years after his death, his books came up for sale, and the auction catalogue of more than 600 pages reveals that he possessed a French-language Wetstein edition of the *Nights* published in Leiden in 1768 (see also above, pp. 65-66) – which the Leiden University Library chose not to buy – and some printed collections of Arabic proverbs.[8] Among his manuscripts were several collections of poetry, mainly in Persian. Of special note is a five-volume set of *Hikajât* or *Narrationes Arabicae* (Arabic Stories). These manuscripts were bought by Leiden University Library at the 1780 auction.[9] The first volume was conceived as an introduction to Syrian colloquial Arabic with word lists, simple dialogues and elementary reading texts. The other volumes do not contain any references to the *Thousand and one nights*, and there is no trace of the frame story with Shahrazad and Shahriyar, but many stories contained in them have at some point become associated with the *Nights* tradition in the widest sense of the word, such as the 'The Ten Viziers', 'Basim the Blacksmith', 'Anis al-Jalis' and 'al-Ward fi'l-Akmam and Uns al-Wujud'.[10] They are

5 Nat (1929), pp. 37-63.

6 Ibid., pp. 66-73.

7 Ibid., pp. 79-82.

8 *Bibliotheca Schultensiana, sive catalogus librorum quos collegit* [...] *Johannes Jacobus Schultensius* [...]. Leiden: apud Henricum Mostert, 1780, p. 470, No. 5348; for the manuscripts, see pp. 601-605.

9 Ibid., p. 603, No. 3854, p. 605, No. 7010. See Jan Just Witkam's description of this codex in Arnoud Vrolijk, Marijke Klokke & Jan Just Witkam, *Duizend min één boek: de 1001 Nacht in de collecties van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek: handschriften, tekstedities en vertalingen*, Leiden: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 1994, pp. 53-54. Witkam proffers no opinion about the provenance of the manuscript. The present-day codex numbers are MSS Leiden, University Library, Or. 1251 and Or. 1292a-d.

10 Because of the absence of the frame story and the subdivision into nights, Ibrahim Akel exlcuded this Leiden codex from his 'Liste des manuscrits arabes des Nuits', in: Aboubakr Chraïbi (ed.), *Arabic*

Collection of Arabic folktales from Aleppo, sent by Patrick Russell to J.J. Schultens, Leiden University Libraries, Or. 1292, fol. 1b-2a

doubtless copied by an Arab scribe but are bound in a European full-leather cover with a doublure of marbled paper. Of special interest is the 'Oriental' envelope flap of the cover, clearly in imitation of a true Oriental manuscript. Like so many other manuscripts of the *Nights*, it dates from *after* Galland's translation, when Western scholars were avidly collecting these types of stories.

Jan Jacob Schultens obtained these manuscript volumes from the Scottish physician and naturalist Patrick Russell (1726-1805), who lived in Aleppo in the service of the English Levant Company. His keen observations of local life, both public and private, are still a valuable source of information for modern scholars. In a letter to Schultens dated 27 February 1766, Russell confirmed the dispatch of 'certain Arabic manuscripts' and promised to do 'all in my power to oblige you, by endeavouring

manuscripts of the Thousand and one nights: presentation and critical editions of four noteworthy texts: observations of some Osmanli translations, Paris: Espaces & Signes, 2016, pp. 65-114. For a discussion and summaries of these stories, see Marzolph & Van Leeuwen (2004), vol. 1.

to procure such other manuscripts as you may have occasion for: and this Promise I can make the more readily, as an Effendee of this City who is esteemed one of the chief Literati, has assured me of his assistance'.[11] In his own collection Russell possessed not only a manuscript of the *Nights* proper but also of the additional Arabic tales, and he engaged the services of local scribes in Aleppo to make copies of manuscripts, not only for himself but also for the benefit of his fellow Orientalists in Europe. The Leiden manuscript is practically identical with Patrick Russell's own copy, which is now in the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester.[12] Nevertheless, it remains uncertain if the presence of these *Nights* materials in Jan Jacob Schultens's private library points to any specific interest in the text or just his omnivorous taste in book collecting. But he found the manuscript important enough to share it with his students and allow them to make copies of individual stories.[13]

The last of the Schultens dynasty at Leiden, Hendrik Albert (1749-1793), was made of different stuff than his father and grandfather.[14] Unlike his forebears, he was a humanities scholar rather than a theologian. A true Romantic, he felt a sincere passion for Arabic poetry, which he regarded as the expression of a noble desert race

11 Patrick Russell to Jan Jacob Schultens, 27 February 1766, MS Leiden, University Library, BPL 245 A. On the appreciation of folktales and the manuscript tradition in mid-eighteenth-century Aleppo, see Alexander Russell, *The natural history of Aleppo: containing a description of the city* [...]; 2nd ed. by Patrick Russell, 2 vols, London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1794, vol. 1, pp. 148-150, vol. 2, pp. 95-96. On Patrick Russell in Aleppo and his contacts with Western Orientalists, see Maurits van den Boogert, 'Patrick Russell and the Republic of Letters in Aleppo', in: Alastair Hamilton et al. (eds), *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 223-264; idem, *Aleppo observed: Ottoman Syria through the eyes of two Scottish doctors, Alexander and Patrick Russell*, London: The Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 229.

12 We are greatly indebted to Mr Luca Koronli (Cambridge), who drew our attention to the Russell manuscript now preserved in Manchester and its close relation to the Leiden copy. See Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Manchester: University Press, 1934, pp. 886-891, No. 647 (the *Nights* proper) and 649-653 (additional tales). The volumes of the Leiden MS are numbered 1-4 and 6; vol. 5 is lacking. The Leiden and Manchester MSS relate as follows: Leiden (L) Or. 1292a = Manchester (M) 653; L Or. 1292b = M 650; L Or. 1292c = M 649; L Or. 1292d = M 651. L Or. 1251, marked as vol. 6, is absent in M, and M 652 is lacking in L. It is interesting to note that both sets are in exactly the same hand. In a letter to *The Gentleman's Magazine* 69 (1799), p. 92, Russell himself confirmed that he had copies made from his own manuscript but that 'the scribes were little scrupulous in abridging descriptions, changing words, and adding decorations, as fancy happened to lead; a licence not assumed in MSS. of serious import, which are always carefully compared and corrected'; see also Maurits van den Boogert, 'Patrick Russell and the *Arabian Nights* manuscripts' (forthcoming). Part of the Leiden MS was used by Carlo de Landberg in his edition and translation of *Bâsim le forgeron et Hârûn er-Rachîd: texte arabe en dialecte d'Égypte et de Syrie, d'après les manuscrits de Leide, de Gotha et du Caire* [...], Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1888.

13 See MSS Leiden, University Library, Acad. 200, a copy of the story of the Merchant and the jinni by Georgius Colonius (1751-1782), and Acad. 202, a copy of the story of the Ten Viziers by Joannes Willmet but based on an earlier apograph by Everard Scheidius (1742-1794), see cat. P. de Jong (1862), pp. 116-117, No. 66 and 68.

14 Nat (1929), pp. 88-99.

'The city of Aleppo', in Alexander Russell, *The natural history of Aleppo*, 2nd edition, revised by Patrick Russell, London 1794

whose creative energy was stimulated by the hot and arid climate of Arabia.[15] He also descended from the ivory tower of the university, not only by lecturing before fashionable cultural or literary societies in the Dutch Republic but also by presiding over the Leiden-based Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde (MNL or Society of Netherlands Literature) between 1782 and his death in 1793. One should not attach too much importance to this sideline, though, for in his yearly reports he could only announce that nothing had been done to realise the society's objectives since its foundation in 1766.[16] In none of his publications did Schultens declare his interest in the *Nights*. During one lecture, held in 1776 before the Amsterdam society *Concordia et Libertate*, he fleetingly referred to the *Nights* as the 'universally known *Arabian Nights*' stories but without further elaborating on them.[17]

15 See Vrolijk & Van Leeuwen (2014), pp. 83-89.

16 F.K.H. Kossmann, *Opkomst en voortgang van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden: geschiedenis van een initiatief*, Leiden: Brill, 1966, pp. 154-158.

17 'De alom bekende Arabische Nachtvertellingen': Hendrik Albert Schultens, 'Verhandeling over de dichtkunde der oosterlingen', in: *Drie redevoeringen*, ed. C.J. Wenckebach, Leeuwarden: Suringar, 1845, pp. 1-42, here p. 30.

Wijbrand Hendriks, oil portrait of Hendrik Albert Schultens, 1791
© Universiteit van Amsterdam

As a young man of barely twenty-three years, however, he had travelled to England in the autumn of 1772 and there befriended many scholars of note, in particular the pioneering Orientalist William Jones (1746-1794), who was only three years his senior. Jones, popularly known as 'Oriental Jones', had already made his mark as a scholar of Persian, but it was his sincere love of Oriental poetry that would make him a source of inspiration to Schultens for the rest of his life. In September 1772, Jones, who was reading for the Bar at the Middle Temple, London, gave Schultens

the run of his private library, and in his diaries Schultens noted that he had perused a manuscript of the *Nights* in Jones's collection which he had obtained from Aleppo, most likely from the same Patrick Russell who had also been in touch with Jan Jacob Schultens a few years earlier.[18] Among Schultens's papers we find a few quires with transcripts of Arabic fairytales, 'The Merchant and the Girl', 'The Merchant and the Jinni' and 'Basim the Blacksmith'.[19] This is intriguing, for Jones's manuscript of the *Nights* is now lost, and it is quite possible that the three Arabic tales which Schultens copied out in his own hand were derived from this particular manuscript.

In his private library, Hendrik Albert Schultens also possessed an Ottoman Turkish manuscript entitled *Kitab-ı emsal* or Book of Parables, a collection of stories very similar to the fables of Aesop.[20] In 1746 this manuscript was copied in Tripoli, Syria, by Denis-Dominique Cardonne (1720-1783), who has been mentioned above as the translator of a collection of Oriental tales (see p. 17). He was a young interpreter in the service of the French consul, who had lived in the Middle East since the tender age of nine and had received a thorough local education there. In 1750 he returned to Paris, where he put his knowledge of Oriental languages to good use as professor of Turkish and Persian at the Collège Royal, interpreter to the King, censor and inspector of the Royal Library. His literary achievements are intimately related with the history of the *Nights*. In 1778, for instance, he re-edited and expanded an unfinished work by Antoine Galland which had first appeared posthumously in 1724, *Les Contes et fables Indiennes de Bidpaï et de Lokman*.[21] It is not known how Schultens got hold of this manuscript. Most likely, Cardonne's books were dispersed after his death in 1783.

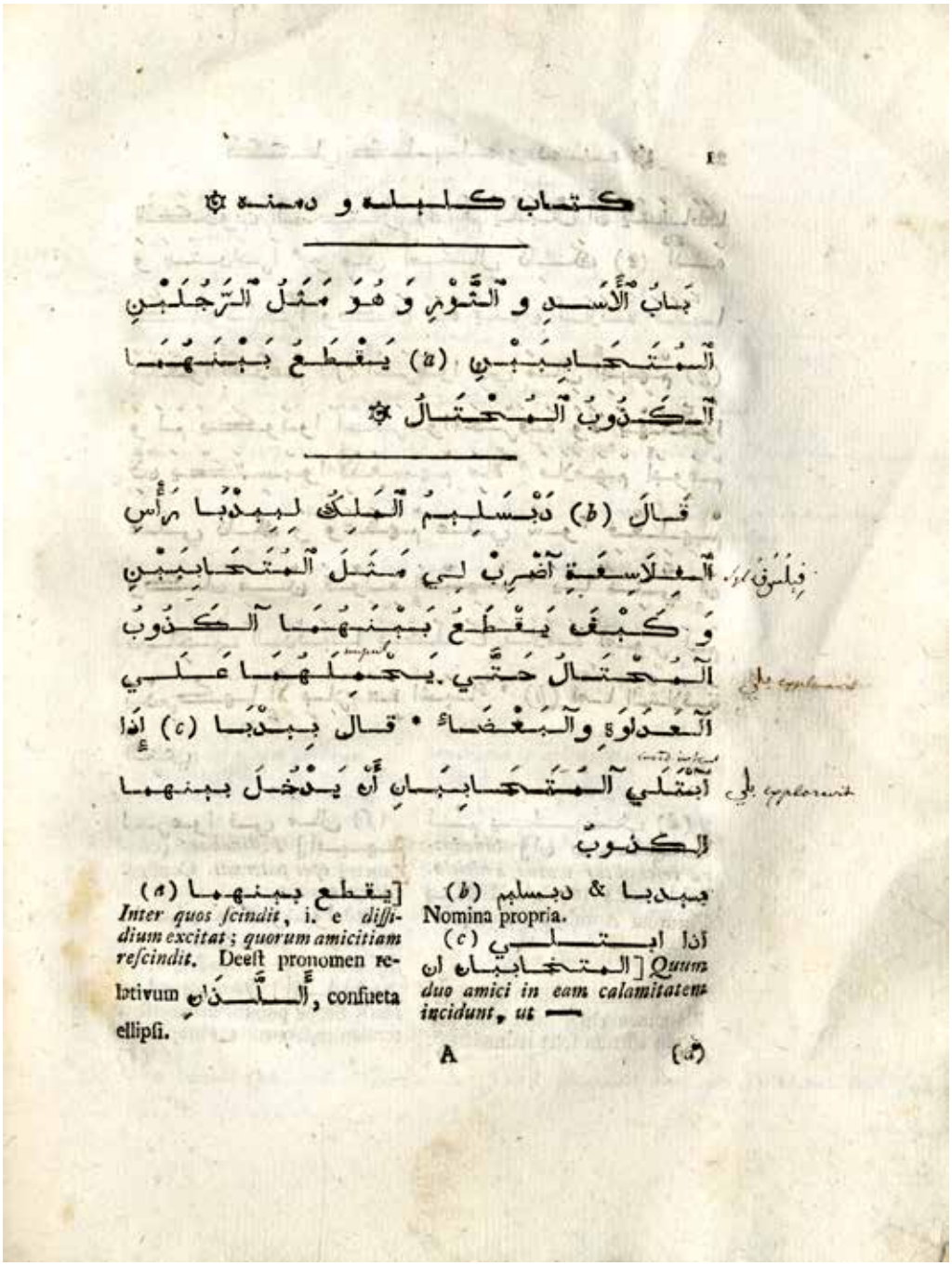
Hendrik Albert Schultens's interest in narrative prose is furthermore revealed by his scholarly engagement with the Arabic fables of *Kalila wa-Dimna*, a work in the mirror-for-princes genre by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. circa 756 CE). These Aesop-style stories had permeated Western Europe as early as the Middle Ages, and the existence of manuscript versions in Latin and Hebrew and printed editions

18 Claire van Eekeren & Elsbeth Kwant (eds), *Een alleraangenaamste reys: eigenhandige dagelijksche aanteekeningen van Hendrik Albert Schultens nopens zijn verblijf in Engeland in de jaren 1772 en 1773, met de oorspronkelijke bijlagen*, Leiden: [no publisher], 1990, pp. 28, 167-168. The fact that Jones obtained his manuscripts from Aleppo would suggest that they were purveyed by the same Dr Patrick Russell who also supplied to Jan Jacob Schultens. On Sir William Jones, see Michael J. Franklin, *Orientalist Jones: Sir William Jones, poet, lawyer, and linguist, 1746-1794*, Oxford: University Press, 2011, and idem, 'Jones, Sir William (1746-1794)', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: University Press, 2004; online edition, May 2011 (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15105, accessed 8 November 2018).

19 MS Leiden, University Library, Or. 1496.

20 Jan Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and other collections in the Netherlands*, 4 vols, Leiden: University Library, 2000-2012, vol. 2, pp. 171-173, MS Or. 1589.

21 It must here be noted that the Leiden MS of the *Kitab-ı emsal* is quite distinct from the Ottoman Turkish *Hümayunname*, which served as the basis for Galland's French translation of *Contes et fables Indiennes de Bidpaï*.



كتاب كليله و دمنه

بَابُ ٱلْأَسَدِ وَ ٱلثَّوْرِ وَ هُوَ مَثَلُ ٱلرَّجُلَيْنِ
ٱلْمُتَحَابَّيْنِ (a) يَقْطَعُ بَيْنَهُمَا
ٱلْكَذُوبُ ٱلْمُحْتَالُ

قَالَ (b) دَبْشَلِيمُ ٱلْمَلِكُ لِبِيدْبَا رَأْسِ
ٱلْفَلَاسِفَةِ ٱضْرِبْ لِي مَثَلَ ٱلْمُتَحَابَّيْنِ
وَ كَيْفَ يَقْطَعُ بَيْنَهُمَا ٱلْكَذُوبُ
ٱلْمُحْتَالُ حَتَّى يَحْمِلَهُمَا عَلَى
ٱلْعُدْوَانِ وَٱلْبَغْضَاءِ • قَالَ بِيدْبَا (c) إِذَا
ٱبْتُلِيَ ٱلْمُتَحَابَّانِ أَنْ يَدْخُلَ بَيْنَهُمَا
ٱلْكَذُوبُ

(a) [يقطع بينهما] *Inter quos ſcindit*, i. e *diſſidium excitat*; *quorum amicitiam reſcindit*. Deeſt pronomen relativum ٱلَّذَانِ, conſueta ellipſi.

(b) دبشليم & بيدبا Nomina propria.

(c) اذا ابتلي المتحابان ان [*Quum duo amici in eam calamitatem incidunt, ut* —

Hendrik Albert Schultens, *Pars versionis Arabicae Libri Colailah wa Dimnah*, the first edition of *Kalila wa-Dimna*, Leiden 1786, p. 1

in modern languages such as German and Dutch has already been noted above. In 1786 Hendrik Albert Schultens published an annotated partial edition of this text, based on a manuscript in his own possession: *Pars versionis Arabicae Libri Colailah wa Dimnah*.[22] Yet Schultens made it absolutely clear, both in the subtitle and in the preface, that the edition was strictly intended as a primer for students.[23] He also stressed that 'the style of this [Arabic] version is hardly elegant, as the more experienced will easily see'.[24] It is astonishing from a modern point of view, however, to see *Kalila and Dimna* dismissed as poor literature. Schultens's apologetic remarks, and indeed embarrassment, can only be explained by the fact that the very similar fables of Aesop were traditionally used to initiate schoolboys to the study of Classical Greek prose.

Hendrik Albert Schultens's interest in the *Mille et une nuit* was not only expressed in his manuscript collection: in his private library he had a copy of a French-language edition of the *Nights*, published in 1790.[25] But like his father and grandfather before him – and indeed like any scholar who succeeded him until the early twentieth century – he did nothing to ensure that early editions or translations of the *Nights* were acquired for the Leiden University Library or the Society of Netherlands Literature. We need only recall that the first French-language edition by Husson was bequeathed to Leiden by Menno Rijke in 1931, and that the first Dutch edition by Van Esveldt was donated as late as 1939 by Henri-Jacques Couvée. The last two Schultenses privately owned French-language editions of the *Nights* but never a Dutch retranslation. This, if nothing else, shows that in academic circles neither the *Nights* nor *Kalila wa-Dimna* were taken seriously enough to merit scholarly attention, even if individual scholars such as Reland and the Schultenses owned and read manuscripts and printed editions of Arabic tales for their private enjoyment.

22 H.A. Schultens, *Pars versionis Arabicae libri Colailah wa Dimnah, sive fabularum Bidpai philosophi Indi, in usum auditorum edita,* Leiden: Henricus Mostert, 1786. The MS is the present codex Leiden University Library, Or. 1590, acquired in 1841. See *Catalogus bibliothecae quam reliquit Henricus Albertus Schultens*, 1794, p. 188, No. 32.

23 H.A. Schultens 1786, title page: 'ad usum auditorum' (for the use of students); ibid., p. iii: 'Non alio consilio hic libellus a me editur, quam ut Tironibus inserviat ad studium linguae Arabicae faciliore & jucundiore via persequendum' ('I have edited this little book for no other reason than providing an easier and more pleasant method for students to study the Arabic language').

24 Ibid., p. v: 'Stilus autem hujus versionis, etsi minime elegans, uti peritiores facile videbunt [...]'.

25 This was a copy of the *Cabinet des fées* containing Galland's *Nights* and the additional stories by Chavis & Cazotte (*Suite des Mille et une nuits*, see above, pp. 26, 68), published in nine volumes by Cuchet in 'Geneva' (*i.e.* Paris, 1790). See the original catalogue of the H.A. Schultens auction, *Catalogus bibliothecae quam reliquit Henricus Albertus Schultens*, Leiden: A. et J. Honkoop, 1794, p. 126, No. 1155. This auction never took place because all books were sold beforehand to the Leiden professor Johan Hendrik van der Palm (1763-1840). When he died, the Schultens collection came on the market, see *Catalogus librorum ac manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Schultensianae, qua, dum in vivis erat, usus est Joh. Henr. Van der Palm* [...], Leiden: apud S. et J. Luchtmans, 1841, p. 126, No. 1140.

Literature

In the eighteenth century, literary life in the Dutch Republic shared the same concerns of the Enlightened trends in the surrounding countries, such as the relationship between man and nature, science and religion, science and art, and the organisation and principles of society. Moreover, the Dutch and European expansion had resulted in an outspoken interest in the exotic 'other', both in the East (China, the Indies and the Levant) and in the West (North and South America). As in neighbouring countries, the typical medium for the proliferation of new, Enlightened ideas was cultural and philosophical journals and various kinds of intellectual associations. In the Netherlands, literary associations with a renewed interest in Dutch culture and journals in the Dutch language emerged (and mostly vanished) throughout the century, providing space for experiments with genres and debates on ongoing issues. One difference between France and England on the one hand, and the Dutch Republic on the other, was the absence of a royal court and a cultural élite tied to the court that was eager to support cultural efforts and act as patrons of the arts. There was a wealthy and politically influential aristocracy especially in the provinces, but they were country squires rather than littérateurs and intellectuals. The political setup of the Republic, in which every province was largely autonomous, did little to encourage the development of a national cultural identity.

Some critics took a dim view of literary life in the Dutch Republic altogether, such as the poet and journalist Willem van Swaanenburg, who in 1726 quipped that 'a one-hundred-guilder bond was more appreciated at the Amsterdam Exchange than all the works of Homer and Pindar [...]'.[26] But this was perhaps unfair, for it was above all the mercantile and political classes who, in co-operation with academics such as Hendrik Albert Schultens, took the initiative to stop the decline of Dutch culture and to revive interest in national language and literature. But these efforts were few and far between, and during most of the eighteenth century there was little that could be done to change the cultural orientation towards France, and to a lesser extent Germany and England. The public embraced all that was new from abroad, and translated or adapted this for local usage.

Because of this orientation, it is no surprise that, although Galland's *Mille et une nuit* was soon translated into Dutch, the intellectual élite possessed the French rather than the Dutch edition. The translation whetted the appetite for more Oriental tales,

26 Marleen de Vries, 'Geen weg terug: nationale cultuur in een land van kooplieden en boeren: de *Maatschappij* 1766-1813', in: Ton van Kalmthout, Peter Sigmond & Aleid Truijens (eds), *Al die onbekende beroemdheden: 250 jaar Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde*, Leiden: University Press, 2016, pp. 10-49, here pp. 14-15.

C. v. Beughem, frontispiece in Chéc-Zadé [i.e. François Pétis de la Croix], *Historie van de sultane van Persien…*, 's-Hertogenbosch 1744

and the *Mille et un jour,* the collection compiled by Pétis de la Croix, was translated into Dutch in 1724 (re-editions in 1739 and 1789),[27] later followed by a translation of his *Histoire de la sultane de Perse et des visirs*.[28] In 1732, the Dutch translation of *Les Mille et un quart-d'heure: contes Tartares* by Thomas-Simon Gueullette appeared,

27 Translated as: *De Persiaensche lusthof ofte Duizent en een dag: Persiaensche vertellingen*, 5 vols, Amsterdam: Joannes Pauli, 1724.

28 Translated as: Chéc-Zadé [*i.e.* François Pétis de la Croix], *Historie van de sultane van Persien, en van de visiren ofte: zeer aangename Turksche vertellingen* [...], 's-Hertogenbosch: Hendrik van Irhoven, 1744. Frontispiece engraving by C. v. Beughem.

Charles Ansell, illustration in John Hawkesworth's *Almoran en Hamet*, Dutch trans. in *Magazijn van geschiedenissen, romans en verhalen*, 1790, plate 1

curiously translated from German and without the name of the author.[29] Other translations from French authors with an Orientalist taste included stories by Voltaire, Crébillon fils' *Les amours de Zéokinisul, roi des Kofirans* (written under the pseudonym Krinelbol, 1746)[30] and Cazotte's *Le diable amoureux* (1772; translation

29 Translated as: *De duizend en een quartier uuren, bestaande in aartige en leezenswaardige Tartaarse geschiedenissen*, 2 vols, Amsterdam: Jacob van Saan; reprint: Amsterdam: Gerrit Tielenburg, 1765.
30 Translated as: *De minneryen van Zeokinizul, koning der Kofirans*, Amsterdam: by Chareau en Du Villard, 1746.

1792). There was apparently little interest in their more unambiguously Orientalist works such as *Le sopha* and *Suite des Mille et une nuits*. Beckford's novel *Vathek* (1786) was translated only in 1837 by the prominent writer E.J. Potgieter, after the work had been 'rediscovered' in France and England.

Following the trend of more serious moral tales and philosophical novels which evolved in England more than in France, several works belonging to the Orientalist vogue were translated from the English, such as Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas* (tr. 1760), John Langhorne's *Solyman and Almena* (tr. 1766), John Hawkesworth's *Almoran and Hamet* (tr. 1790),[31] and *Nouraddin* (tr. 1768), and Frances Sheridan's *The history of Nourjahad* (tr. 1768). James Ridley's religiously edifying collection *Tales of the genii* was translated between 1764 and 1765.[32] Translations from the German include Liebeskind's collection for children *Palmblätter* (*Palmbladeren*, 1787).

In spite of this genuine interest in literature from France and other major European nations, the Dutch literati were not inclined to absorb *The Thousand and one nights* into their literary endeavours as eagerly as their French counterparts. This may partly be explained by the still precarious situation of Dutch literature in this period, and partly by Calvinist attitudes towards culture and literature. In England and Germany, similar responses to what was considered French extravagancy and frivolity in the field of literature can be perceived, especially with regard to Oriental tales, which were set against moralistic, didactic and more realistic genres. In general, the appearance of the *Mille et une nuit* led to translations and adaptations but little original work.

The genre of the Oriental tale in Dutch thrived mostly on the pages of the many journals that appeared throughout the eighteenth century and that were concerned with the major debates and issues of their times. Most of these journals were fashioned after the English example of *The Spectator* and the French *Mercure*. One of the leading figures was Justus van Effen (1684-1735), who was in touch with the English freethinkers John Toland and Anthony Collins and the publisher Thomas Johnson, who lived in exile in The Hague. Johnson published the work of contemporary authors such as Joseph Addison and Jonathan Swift in his periodical *Le journal littéraire* (1713-1722), which was compiled mainly by French refugees.[33] Van Effen not only participated in this journal but also translated several English authors. For his

31 [John Hawkesworth], 'Almoran en Hamet: een Oostersch verhaal', *Magazijn van geschiedenissen, romans en verhalen*, vol. 1, (1790), pp. 3-150, see plate 1, facing p. 38: Almeida kneeling before Hamet. Designed by Charles Ansell (b. 1752) and engraved by Charles and Andrew Paas.

32 [James Ridley], *Vertellingen der schik-godinnen: of de bekoorlyke lessen van Horam, de zoon van Asmar: vertaald uit een Persiaansch handschrift in het bezit van den ridder Karel Morell* [...], uit het Engelsch vertaald door Egbert Buys, 2 vols, Amsterdam: Dirk onder de Linden, 1764-1765. See the anonymous frontispiece engraving to vol. 1.

33 Jacob (2006), pp. 24-26, 70, 86, 114, 152-153, 168-169, 198.

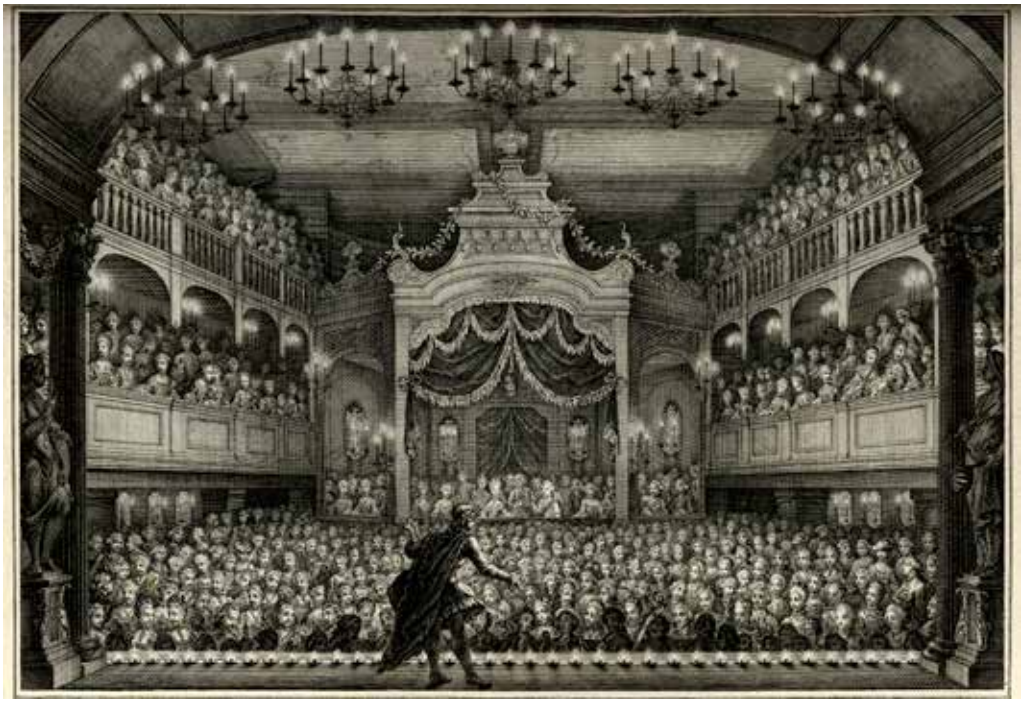
contribution of English literature in the Dutch Republic he was appointed a member of the Royal Society in London. Inspired by the English examples, he founded the important weekly *Hollandsche Spectator* in 1731.[34] Other intellectual journals from this period include *De Hollandsche Wijsgeer* ('The Dutch Philosopher'), *De Philosooph* ('The Philosopher'), and *De Philantrope of Menschenvriend* ('The Philanthropist, or, Friend of Man'). In these journals, Oriental tales can be found translated from English, French and German authors, taken from English counterparts such as *The Adventurer* and *The Rambler*. The tales of *Palmblätter* were popular as well.[35]

The Oriental stories published in these journals covered several generic types. They included fictional letters, philosophical inquiries, moral tales and stories of the mirror-for-princes type. Most of them are not, or at least not explicitly, related to the material of the *Thousand and one nights*, although they belong to the corpus of Orientalist material that became popular throughout Europe after the success of Galland's *Mille et une nuit*. The stories referring to the *Nights* are usually variations on the Aladdin motif, probably taken from the French collection *Le Cabinet des fées* or Wieland's *Dschinnistan*. Titles are used such as *De gierigaard gestraft, of de ongelukken van Diarbec: een Cricassiaansche vertelling* ('The Miser Punished, or the Mishaps of Diarbec: A Circassian Tale', 1761), *Historie van Abouzaid, den zoon van Morad* ('History of Abouzaid, Son of Morad', 1763), and *Abdulah, prince van Candahar* ('Abdulah, Prince of Candahar', 1770).[36]

Johannes Nomsz

An author of some importance who adopted the Oriental genre is Johannes Nomsz (1738-1803), a prolific writer from the second half of the eighteenth century. Nomsz began his career as a sailor and subsequently entered the tobacco trade in Amsterdam. However, he felt a calling as an author and in 1764 he had his first play staged in the main theatre in Amsterdam, the Amsterdamsche Schouwburg. He was a representative of the transition from the 'Classicist', or more stylised theatre, to 'modern' theatre, which was more lively and natural and which became popular in the decade between 1775 and 1785. This period marked his heyday as a writer. Nomsz is portrayed while working on his novel *Abdallah* in an engraving from 1768 by Jacob Houbraken (1698-1780), which is based on an original drawing from 1763 by Hendrik Pothoven (c.1725-1807).

34 Leemans & Johannes (2013), p. 184.
35 Dohmen (2000).
36 Ibid.

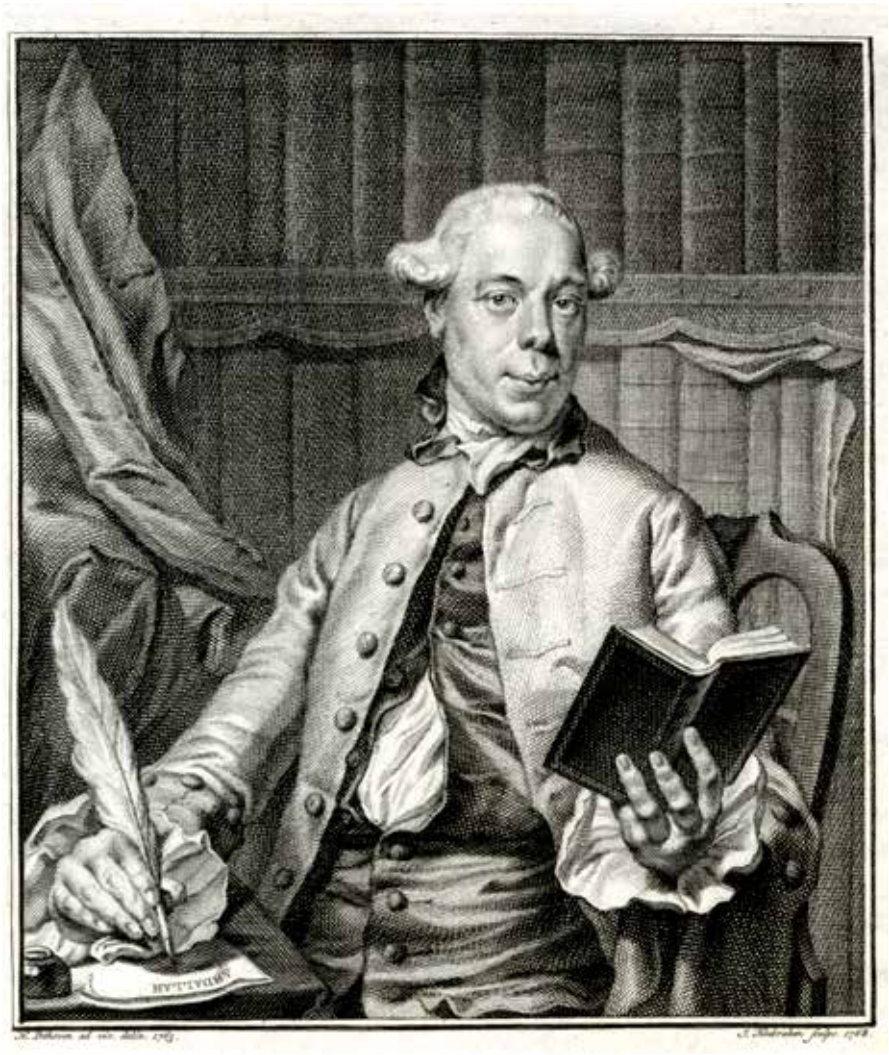


Simon Fokke, the Schouwburg or main theatre of Amsterdam, 1768

In 1771 Nomsz translated *Bajazet* by Racine,[37] but in 1775 showed more originality in his translation of *Soliman second, ou les trois sultanes* ('Soliman the Second, or the Three Sultanas') a comedy by the popular French playwright Charles Favart (1710-1792).[38] The play dates from 1761, and already the following year a French edition appeared in The Hague. Nomsz gives a faithful rendering of Favart's story about the Ottoman sultan Süleyman II the Magnificent and his European slave Roxelana, who is here represented as a French girl. She loves the sultan but cannot accept his many wives and concubines. Eventually, the sultan realises that he must renounce polygamy if he wants to keep Roxelana's love. Nomsz, however, dropped Favart's final scene with the coronation of Roxelana because he did not believe that such a thing was in accordance with Islamic practice. The Dutch translation contains two engravings originally designed by the French artist Hubert François Gravelot (1699-1773), and in 1768 executed by Reinier Vinkeles (1741-1816). They show

37 Johannes Nomsz, *Bajazet: treurspel: gevolgd naar het Fransch van den Heere Racine*, Amsterdam: David Klippink, 1771.

38 Johannes Nomsz, *Soliman de Tweede, of de drie sultanes: blyspel*, Amsterdam: wed. David Klippink, 1775.



Jacob Houbraken after Hendrik Pothoven, portrait of Johannes Nomsz working on his novel *Abdallah*, 1768

the beautiful Roxelana dancing before the sultan and serving him at table. Nomsz also translated works by Voltaire, Corneille and others.

Nomsz allows himself more freedom in his tragedy *Hassan, of de Algerijnen* ('Hassan or the Algerians') of 1789.[39] Mahomet, Dey of Algiers, wants to kill his insurrectionary son Hassan, but his hand is stayed by the slave Fatima, for whom he has a weak spot. Fatima, who is in love with Hassan, threatens to kill herself

39 Johannes Nomsz, *Hassan, of de Algerijnen: treurspel*. Amsterdam: Elwe & Langeveld, 1789.

Reinier Vinkeles after H.F. Gravelot, ill. in Johannes Nomsz' *Soliman de Tweede*, Amsterdam 1775: 'De fiere slavinne' ('the proud slavegirl')

HASSAN,

VIERDE TOONEEL.

MAHOMET, FATIMA, HASSAN, ATALMUC, ZAIDE, *Wachten.*

HASSAN, *aan den ingang, met een afgrijsel gezigt.*

Fatima!...

MAHOMET.

Treê nu, vermetele verrader!
Beef voor uw' opperheer, vrees een' grimmigen vader,
En duchte de ftrengfte ftraf voor 't ftrijden van mijn recht,
Zo uw hardnekkigheid u lijfsgenade ontzegt.
Zie af van Fatima, en doe uw woeste benden
Zich, eer één uur verloopt, van deze wallen wenden;
Want valt men op mij aan, men zal op 't eigenfte uur
Uw hoogst ftraf-waardig hoofd zien werpen van den muur.

HASSAN.

Mijne onfchuld fmeert zich niet aan dwaling, of betichting;
Mijn hart verwijt mij niet de minfte kwaadverrichting;
De ftraf heeft nimmer plaats, dan daar de misdaad fpreekt;
Hij boet' flechts die in bloed zich onachtzaamlijk wreekt;
Die anderen 't hunne ontrooft, door woest geweld gedreven,
Die zijn geluk misbruikt, die men alleen moet beven.
Gij, die een' roofklauw durfde aan mijn bemínde flaan,

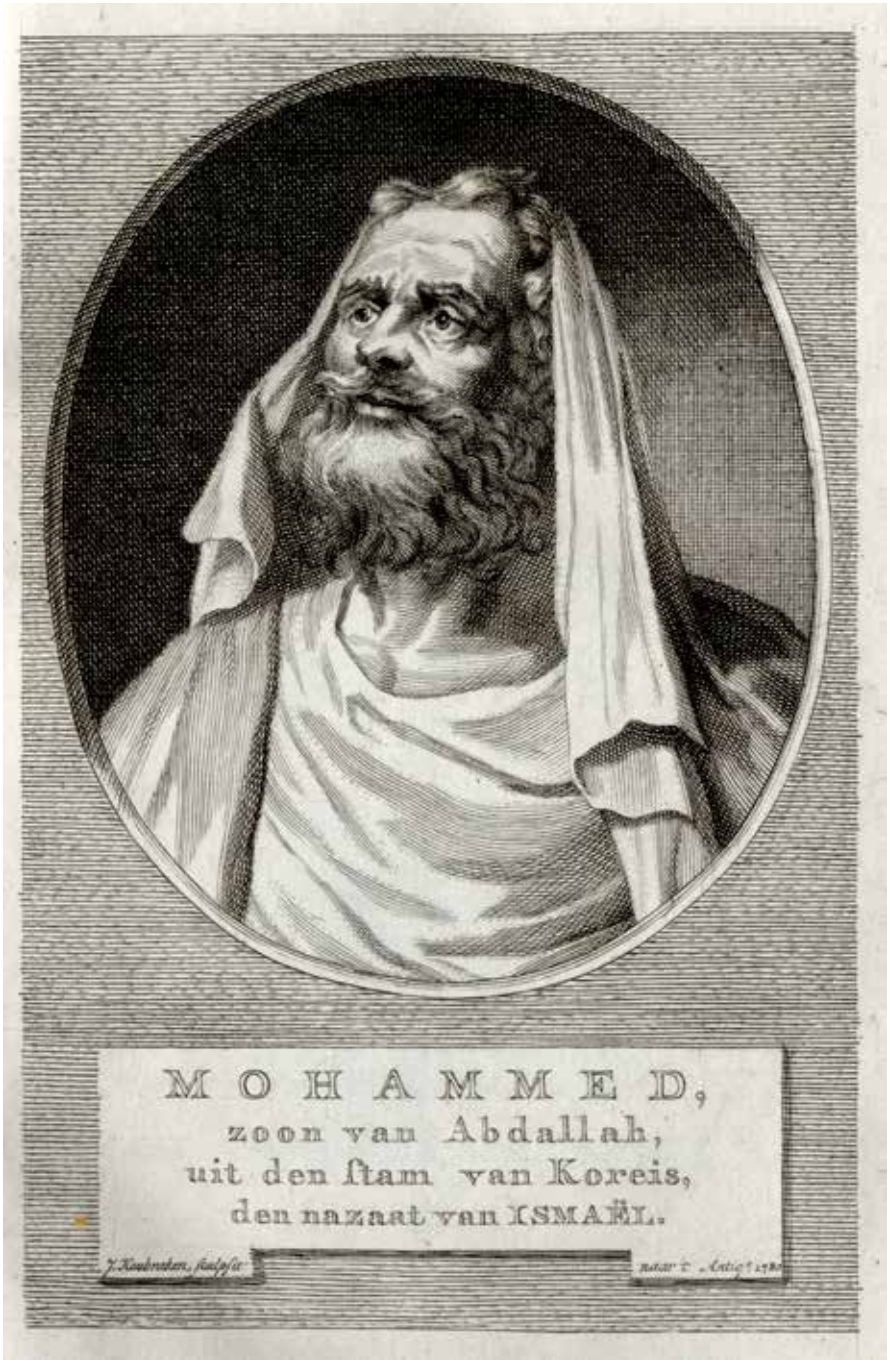
niet verder Mahomet! ons.

Jacobus Buys, ill. in Johannes Nomsz, *Hassan, of de Algerijnen*, Amsterdam 1789: 'No further, Mahomet!'

unless Mahomet spares the life of his son. Eventually Mahomet, the generous ruler, acknowledges his son's love and allows him to marry Fatima. The plot echoes elements from Voltaire's *Mahomet* but avoids the original's religious element and the risk of an incestuous relationship between the lovers, turns the suicide of the heroine into an attempted suicide which is fortunately averted, and gives the story an overall happy ending. Only a courtier bearing the improbable name of Atalmuc, an intriguer of the worst kind, meets with a gruesome fate. The engraving by 'J.B.' (Jacobus Buys, 1724-1801) shows Princess Fatima threatening to plant a dagger in her chest.

In Nomsz's 1771 Bunyanesque allegory *Abdallah; of het onvolmaakt geluk: eene Maroccaansche geschiedenis* ('Abdallah, or Imperfect Happiness: A Moroccan History'),[40] the protagonist Abdallah, a rich young man, tries to find happiness among poets and philosophers, in the army and in country life, but it is only

40 Johannes Nomsz, 'Abdallah, or Imperfect Happiness. A Moroccan History'. Amsterdam: David Klippink, 1771, repr. 1774.



Jacob Houbraken, portrait of the Prophet Muhammad, in Johannes Nomsz, *Mohammed, of de hervorming der Arabieren*, Amsterdam 1780

Adversity which leads him to Common Sense. He receives his reward by becoming sultan of Morocco.[41] This story, originally written by Nomsz but probably inspired by Voltaire's *Zadig*, bears more likeness to the *Thousand and one nights* than his other works, but there is no reference to the Arabic tales, nor is it certain that he had actually read Shahrazad's tales.

Another work of some merit is the historical novel *Mohammed, of de hervorming der Arabieren* ('Mohammed, or the Reformation of the Arabs'), published in 1780,[42] which draws an Enlightened image of the Prophet as a rational reformer who leads his nation to great deeds. As such, the Arabs act as God's instrument to chastise the decadent Byzantines. The parallel with the Protestant Reformation and the Roman Catholic Church must have been obvious to the author's contemporaries. The frontispiece shows Muhammad as an elderly man with a thoughtful look who wears the garb of a prophet from the Old Testament such as Moses.[43] It is perhaps the only truly original work of fiction in the Oriental style to have been written in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic, but it has so far received hardly any scholarly attention.

In spite of the popularity of his plays, Nomsz received little critical acclaim. Perhaps because of his refractory character or his political opportunism, he was banned from literary circles. He attempted in vain to become a member of literary societies. Because his business collapsed in the years of crisis at the end of the eighteenth century, he spent the last fifteen years of his life in utter poverty and isolation. He died in the poorhouse.[44]

The example of Johannes Nomsz shows the popularity of the theatre as a genre of literary expression and the efforts to incorporate the French taste while simultaneously striving for a more original and modern form. In addition to more or less serious plays, the popular theatre flourished in the eighteenth century, modelled after the French and English examples of the *arlequinade* and the *pantomime.* An author who published several plays of this type was Rijklof Cornelis van Goens (1753-1803), a nephew of the famous literary critic Rijklof Michaël van Goens, who will be discussed below. Rijklof Cornelis van Goens translated several plays by the French author Marmontel, usually in a descriptive prose style rather than in dialogues. One of his plays, *Fleur d'Épine of de triomph van Arlequin door toverkunst*

41 Dohmen (2000), p. 209, mentions parallels with Voltaire's *Zadig*.

42 Johannes Nomsz, 'Muhammad, or the Reformation of the Arabs'. Amsterdam: Erven van David Klippink, 1780.

43 Apparently, this engraving is taken from an earlier title page design for the eighteenth-century Leiden editions of *Mahomet's Alkoran*, the retranslation by Jan Hendrik Glazemaker of André Du Ryer's French version of the Qur'an. See Klaversma & Hannema (1999), pp. 372, No. 1051-1053.

44 For Nomsz's difficult relationship with the Amsterdam theatre world, see Ben Albach, *Jan Punt en Marten Corver: Nederlandsch tooneelleven in de 18e eeuw*, Amsterdam: N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1946, especially p. 154.

('Fleur d'Épine or the Triumph of Arlequin through Magic', 1799), is set in Kashmir and stages several Oriental and European characters. In *De betoverde lamp / La lampe merveilleuse* ('The Enchanted Lamp', 1797), he presented a version of the story of 'Aladdin and the magic lamp', only slightly adapted for the sake of dramatic effect and provided with stage directions. In the nineteenth century several new versions of this pantomime appeared.[45]

A more original play by Van Goens, with several motifs from the *Thousand and one nights*, is *Arlequin, of De gelukkige visscher* ('Arlequin, or the Fortunate Fisherman', 1798). In this pantomime, Turkish pirates capture Colombine, the beautiful wife of Arlequin, and present her to the Sultan of Balzora. Since she refuses to comply to his advances, the sultan calls for physicians to 'cure' her. Arlequin, who has found a vessel with a jinni, is transported to Balzora, dresses as a doctor and 'cures' Colombine. The remaining parts of the play are taken up by the struggle between Arlequin and the sultan for the possession of Colombine, both taking recourse to helpers using magic. After some spectacular magical feats, Arlequin succeeds in regaining his beloved and even in persuading the sultan to repent. The play is filled with colourful Oriental motifs, such as a water pipe, sorbets, dancers, a bear, an elephant, a flying dragon, a firebird, a ball of fire, and Turkish music. It clearly met the requirements of an exciting evening out.[46]

Criticism

In spite of the interest in Oriental themes and the possibilities of the Oriental tale for philosophical reflection, the critical response to the appearance of the *Thousand and one nights*, both in its French and Dutch versions, was limited. In general, the Dutch literati supported the idea that the Orientals, Arabs and Persians in particular were superior to Europeans in literary imagination and storytelling, although this implied a certain exuberance, superstition and lack of realism. It was commonly thought in the eighteenth century that the art of storytelling had originated in the East and had only recently been developed in Europe. The response to the 'discovery' of the *Thousand and one nights* was somewhat different in France than in the Protestant countries. In France, authors indulged in various kind of humorous and scabrous trivialities, which were frowned upon in Germany, England and the Netherlands, where literati were more interested in the allegorical, philosophical and didactic aspects of Oriental tales.

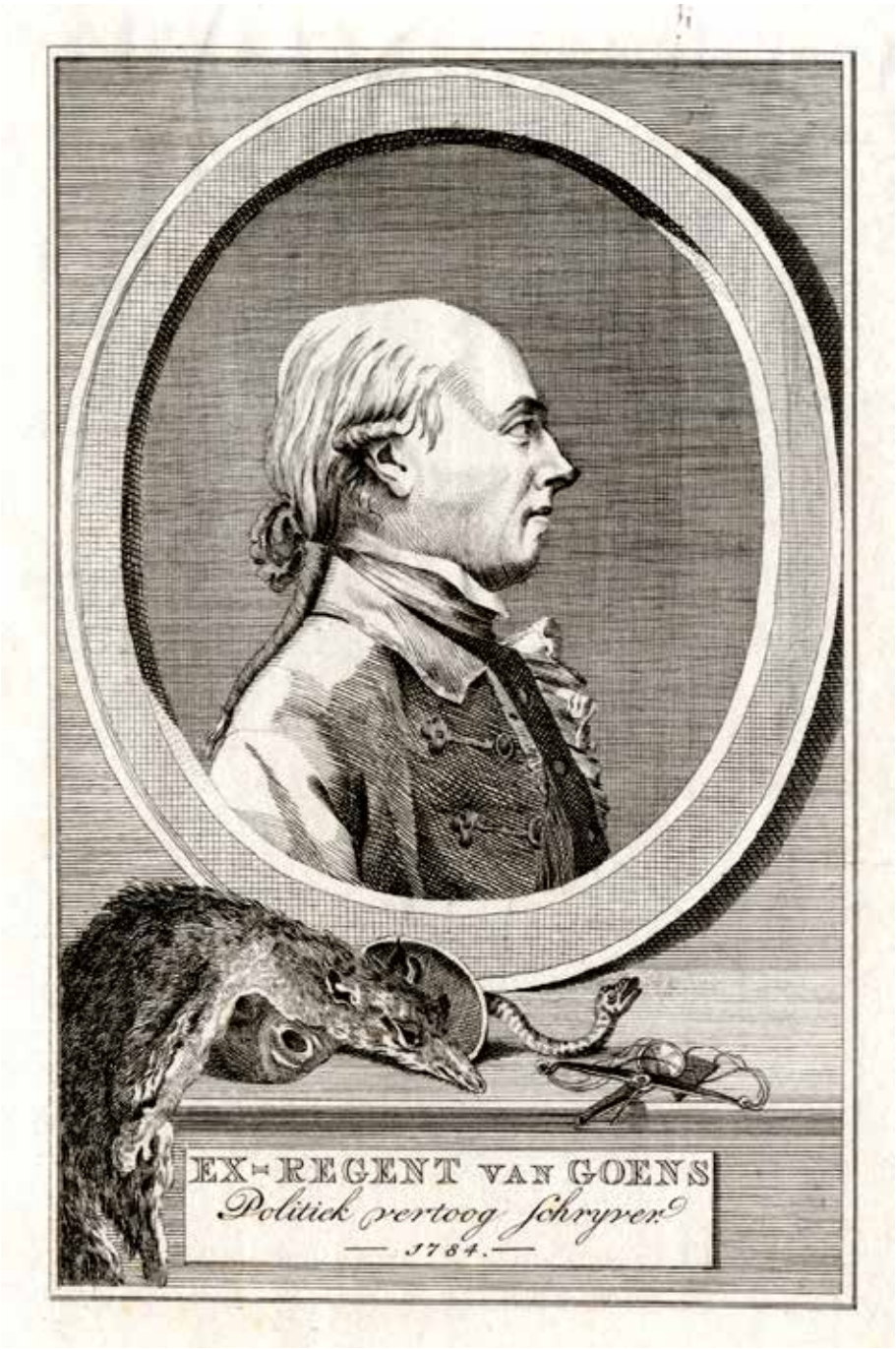
45 Rijklof Cornelis van Goens, *De betoverde lamp = La lampe merveilleuse, ballet pantomime in drie bedryven*, Amsteldam: J. Helders en A. Mars, 1797; idem, *Fleur d'Épine of de triomph van Arlequin door toverkunst: groot balletpantomime*, Amsterdam: by Abr. Mars, 1799.

46 R.C. van Goens, *Arlequin, of de gelukkige visscher: groot ballet pantomime*, Amsterdam: J. Helders en A. Mars, 1798.

An important scholar and literary critic who explicitly referred to the *Thousand and one nights* and who certainly possessed a French copy of the work was the remarkable figure of Rijklof Michaël van Goens (1748-1810), the nephew of the aforementioned author of pantomimes. Rijklof Michaël van Goens was born in Utrecht as the son of a jurist and the grandson of the famous admiral and governor-general of the Dutch East Indies, Rijklof van Goens (1619-1682). His mother, named Cuninghame, was the daughter of a Scottish officer in Dutch service. The young Van Goens followed the conventional path of the Dutch élite, reading French and Classics at the University of Utrecht. In Leiden, he studied Greek philology and modern literature. His intelligence and erudition were so impressive that at the age of eighteen he was appointed extraordinary professor of Antiquity, rhetoric, Dutch history and Greek at the University of Utrecht (1766). He acquired fame in literary circles by publishing anonymous essays on literature under the title *Bedenkingen van den Philosophe sans fard* ('Reflections of the Artless Philosopher', 1766), in which he criticised the situation of Dutch literature and introduced his fellow citizens to the 'modern' trends of Romanticism and the Enlightenment.[47]

In his essays, Van Goens not only drew attention to the importance of French and German authors, which, he felt, were neglected in the Netherlands; he also advocated a more scholarly critical approach to literature. He admired authors such as Voltaire, Fielding, Sterne and, as one of the first Dutch literati, Rousseau. In German literature, he was an admirer of Wieland and Lavater. His polemical style provoked the opposition of clerical authorities, and in response to criticism from religious circles he suddenly resigned from his professorship in 1776 and sold his enormous library of approximately 20,000 books. He aspired to a political career, first in Utrecht and later in The Hague, but because of his unruly character and his political opportunism he failed to secure a position. Frustrated and embittered, he left the Dutch Republic never to return, spending the rest of his life in poverty travelling through Switzerland, Germany and England.[48] An unknown artist engraved his portrait or rather caricature: the attributes (fox skin, hornets' nest, adder, empty eggshell, unbalanced pair of scales) all put him down as a political troublemaker.

47 J. Wille, *De literator R.M. van Goens en zijn kring: studiën over de achttiende eeuw*, 2 vols, Zutphen: G.J.A. Ruys, 1937; B. ten Brink, *Levensbeschrijving van Rijklof Michaël van Goens*, Utrecht: C. van der Post, 1869; Jan Bos, *Inventaris van het archief van Rijklof Michaël van Goens (1748-1810)*, The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1987; R.M. van Goens, *The battle of the books and the study of literature: an 18th-century defense of literary scholarship: een pleidooi voor de wetenschappelijke beoefening van de letterkunde*, ed. J.C. Brandt Corstius, Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1972; see also: *Bibliotheca Goensiana: catalogue d'une bibliothèque de littérature*, auction 14 October 1776, Utrecht: Kribbe, Paddenburg & Schoonhoven, 1776, No. 6675.
48 P.J.C. de Boer, *Rijklof Michaël van Goens (1748-1810) en zijn verhouding tot de literatuur van West-Europa*, Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1938.



Anonymous caricature of Rijklof Michaël van Goens, 1784

We possess a substantial comment by Van Goens on the *Thousand and one nights* which he included in one of his literary essays. In a chapter about the 'moral story' ('Het zedenkundig verhaal'), he observed that the Netherlands was inundated by novels but that a 'true' novel was still lacking. Most works were repulsive, insipid and foolish, he wrote. He encouraged authors who aspire to write novels to first practice the art of the short story, which is to-the-point, useful, and more entertaining, and would provide subjects for playwrights. It would serve to improve morality and the critique of absurdities, as was already the custom in ancient Greece. He continued:

> While Europe was still covered in a thick fog of ignorance, the tale flourished in the East. Arabia and Persia produced inventive minds who excelled in this genre. The tales of the former, divided into thousand and one nights, are illustrious examples of their boundless imagination. While other peoples limit themselves to what essentially exists in nature, the superstition of this nation stretches their imagination over everything that can ever be invented. And without straining the comparison, like an English tragedy does not please without some corpses, an Arabic story can only be pleasing with witches.[49]

His appreciation was not without ambiguity, however:

> Shakespear is full of strange appearances and unheard of enchantments: Milton's devils are sometimes also rather ridiculous: and the Cardinal d'Esté found reason to say to Ariosto, *dove diavolo avete pigliato tante coglionerie*? However, the imagination of these three together, with all the fairy tales that have ever been invented by any European old hag about ghosts and appearances, cannot be compared to those found in the Arabian Nights stories. Still, in spite of this, these stories deserve very much to be read, because of their peculiar representation, correct sequences, and marvellous and complex plots, to which are added a force and ardency of expression, which similar to their imagination are caused by the climate and lascivious life of this nation.[50]

Van Goens was slightly more appreciative of the Persian taste for storytelling, which he encountered in Pétis de la Croix's *Mille et un jour*. He clearly considered the work as an authentic Persian collection:

49 Rijklof [Michaël] van Goens, 'Bedenkingen van den pilosophe sans fard', *Nieuwe bydragen tot opbouw der vaderlandsche letterkunde*, 2 vols, Leyden: Pieter van der Eyk, 1763-1764, vol. 2, pp. 485-505, here pp. 491-492. For the original Dutch text, see Appendix 4.
50 Ibid.

> As the Persians are more morally civilised, so their stories are more civilised than those of the Arabs. Although they are full of enchantments, appearances and metamorphoses, their imagination is less weird and excessive. And the dervish Mocles who is the compiler of the thousand and one days Persian tales by far exceeds the Arabic writers in scholarship and morality: yes, it seems to me, that he has read Plato, Hippocrates and several other Greeks, who are referred to in passing.[51]

Indian tales, too, had their merits and defects:

> Thirdly, and finally, there are even stories that have originated in the Ganges region. Locman, an Indian sage, wrote a work that contains fables and tales together: although his imagination is not as exuberant as the aforementioned, it is not as fertile and lively. And one of his greatest faults is that the stories are nested in each other like boxes. A bird admonishes her young, and meanwhile a case comes to her mind that is applicable to this. Her young ask her to tell the story, and this brings her to another story, and again another, continuing five or six times like this: a deficiency also found among Arabic and Persian authors, but not as persistently. Moreover, in their case it is less disturbing, since their stories are longer and more interesting to the reader than those of Lokman. As a consequence, the thread of the story is not broken so often.[52]

Van Goens concluded this remark by saying that these were all the Oriental stories he knew, since most of the others, such as Gueullette's *Thousand and one quarters*, were written by Frenchmen. As European examples of the genre of the moral tale, to be emulated by Dutch authors, Van Goens recommended Boccaccio, Cervantes, Rabelais, Voltaire, Scarron and Marmontel.[53]

Van Goens' discussion of the *Thousand and one nights* and similar Oriental tales echoes the lukewarm opinion of Ghisbert Cuper quoted above, reflecting the Protestant suspicion of a too exuberant imagination. It is interesting to note that Van Goens apparently mentioned the *Thousand and one nights* in his correspondence with Christoph Martin Wieland, the German author and philosopher, who discarded the genre of the fairy tale as prone to *Schwärmerei*, although he acknowledged its didactic merits as long as irrational plots were avoided. In one of his letters to Van Goens, Wieland remarked:

51 Ibid., p. 492.
52 Ibid., p. 493.
53 Ibid., pp. 494-505.

> Forgive me, Sir, for this digression that made me lose sight of the main subject of your letter; that is your argument about the poems of chivalry and fairytales. I have read and reread it with infinite pleasure, and although it seems to me that Lord Bacon, while speaking about poetry and the pleasure that 'fiction' gives us, has said something similar to the principle of which you speak, nobody before you has developed this principle as well as you concerning the various genres of the marvellous, and even less are those who have dedicated themselves to examining the cause of this peculiar phenomenon, for which you, according to me, have found the true explanation, that is, the almost universal taste that even reasonable and enlightened people have for fairy stories, for instance *The Thousand and One Nights*, etc., and for the false shame that makes almost everyone blush when this inclination is acknowledged. I would like to persuade you to make your reflections about this matter known to the public.[54]

Wieland continued to argue that, according to him, the taste for the 'marvellous' can be explained by human indolence: it takes much more effort to discover rational and natural explanations for complex phenomena than to just ascribe them to miraculous interventions. Furthermore, people were attracted by novelties and unfamiliar phenomena, such as those presented in marvellous tales. As we have seen, this scepticism about the value of fairy tales and Oriental tales reflected an 'enlightened' attitude shared by many literati, especially in the Protestant countries. As a token of his appreciation of his Dutch colleague, Wieland sent a copy of his *Der goldne Spiegel* to Van Goens.[55]

Van Goens's relationship with the *Thousand and one nights* perhaps epitomises the contradictions found in the reception of the work in the Dutch Republic. On the one hand, scholars and literati knew the work and admitted that it possessed some merits. They did not, however, use it as a source of literary inspiration and a model to emulate or to experiment with new literary genres. Whereas in France, England and Germany, the influence of the form, concept and motifs of the *Thousand and one nights* can be perceived in the work of most prominent authors, in the Netherlands hardly any original Oriental tale was produced. On the other hand, the many Dutch editions of the *Nights* attest to its popularity. Apparently there was an audience for this type of tales mainly in the lower echelons of society, but they failed to gain sufficient respectability and were not included in the canon of Dutch literature.

54 Christoph Martin Wieland to Rijklof Michaël van Goens, 21 August 1769, in: W.H. de Beaufort (ed.), *Brieven aan R.M. van Goens en onuitgegeven stukken hem betreffende*, 3 vols, Utrecht: Kemink, 1884-1890, vol. 1, p. 378.

55 Wieland to Van Goens, 8-5-1772, Van Goens (1884-1890), vol. 1, p. 389.

Conclusion

In the previous chapters we have presented a concise and certainly not exhaustive overview of the way in which the *Thousand and one nights* was received in the Netherlands and how this was related to Dutch scholarly and literary interest in the Near East. In conclusion, we can say that Dutch Orientalism in the eighteenth century reflected the circumstances of that period. Clearly, the legacy of the seventeenth century, the Dutch 'Golden Age', continued to reverberate in intellectual life. The economic prosperity, intellectual fervour and interest in exotic worlds that marked the seventeenth century most certainly did not wane in the subsequent period. At least until 1750, the Dutch Republic remained one of the centres of European print culture and a refuge for literati fleeing censorship and repression elsewhere. Oriental studies continued to flourish, with important travelogues, scholarly reference works and scholarly, literary and philosophical texts being printed in Amsterdam, The Hague and Leiden. The various French-language pirated editions of the *Mille et une nuit* by the Hussons and Wetsteins are a prime example of this phenomenon.

Still, while the term stagnancy may be unjustified, it is clear that Dutch society in the eighteenth century experienced a certain backlash and a re-orientation of economic and cultural ambitions. The period of economic expansion and exploration of the outside world had come to an end and was followed by a phase of re-establishing the identity of the Dutch Republic in the political and cultural sense. As before, Dutch society and culture were intertwined with neighbouring countries, whose influence could be felt in the fields of literature and thought, but this connectedness increasingly came to be seen as a threat to the survival of the Dutch nation. The widespread use of French – at first perceived as a sign of cultural participation on an international level – came to be regarded towards the very end of the century as an expression of cultural subservience to a foreign power. Efforts were undertaken to found Dutch literary societies and journals, but these were either short-lived or lay dormant for decades on end. Neither were there any towering figures in culture and politics who could inspire a new self-confidence and who could become the leading force in a re-orientation of the nation. As a result, intellectual life in the Netherlands largely continued to follow trends from abroad, particularly France and England, and at the same time there was little ambition to participate in the broader European networks.

The Amsterdam silk merchant and financier Gilbert de Flines was a typical representative of Dutch literary life in the period under consideration. Steeped in the tradition of amateur literary and dramatic societies, he tried his hand at a Dutch retranslation of Galland's fashionable *Mille et une nuit*, not because

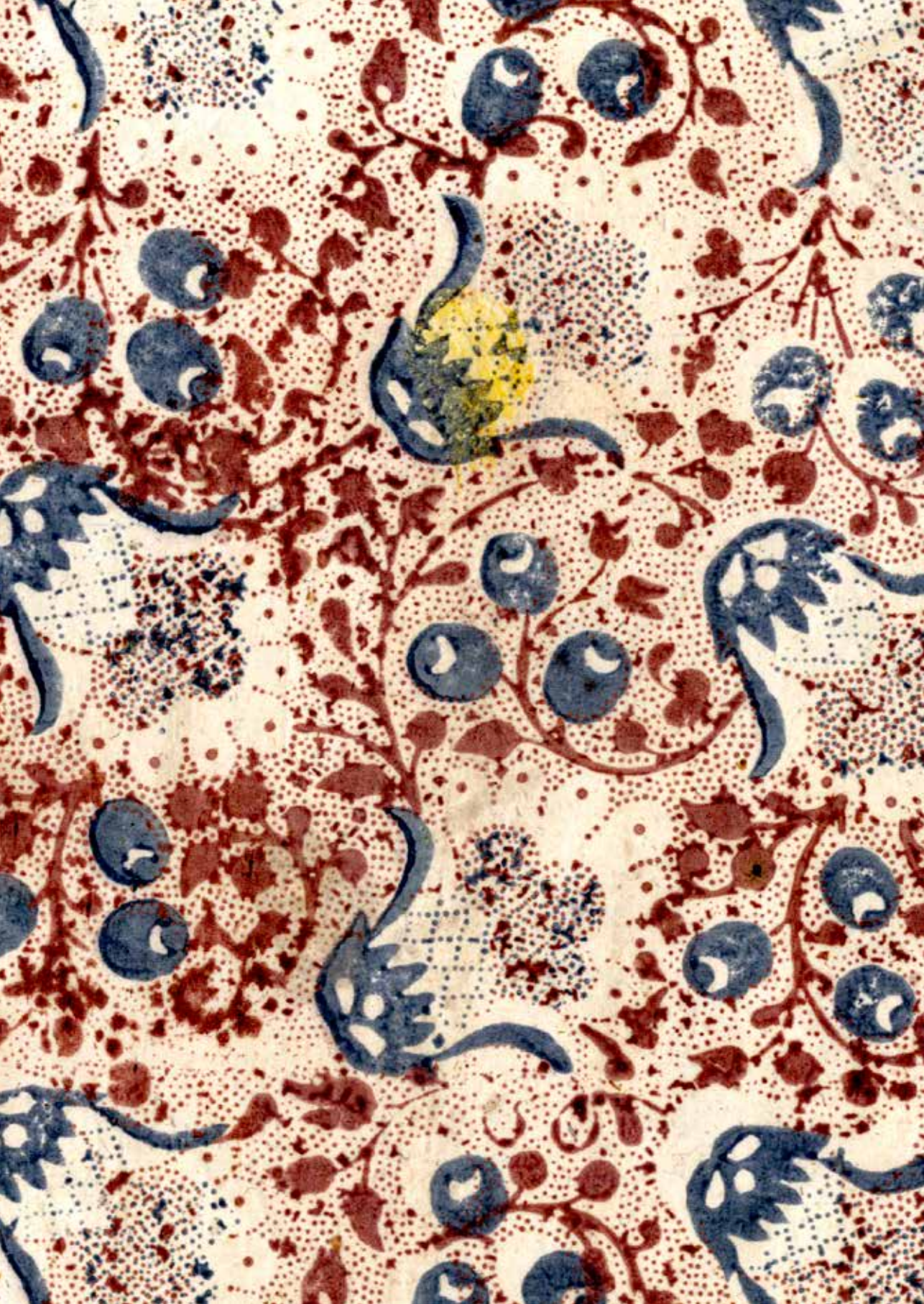
he feared that his fellow merchants were unable to read the French version but because he felt the need to familiarise a broader Dutch audience with this expression of French *esprit*. Never seeking a higher profile as a man of letters, he published his work under his initials 'G.D.F.', and his identity was consequently forgotten.

In the field of Orientalism, developments in the seventeenth century resulted in a stabilisation of Oriental scholarship, but as far as literature was concerned, it provided little originality in the production of Oriental tales as a genre derived from travel accounts and works such as the *Thousand and one nights*. This may partly be explained by the decline of Dutch interest in the Eastern trade, and the Levant trade in particular, resulting in less urgent evaluations of Arabic and Persian politics and culture. As England and France took over leadership in the larger commercial networks in Asia and the Middle East, Dutch trade interests came to be limited to the Indonesian archipelago. Another factor that may have played a role in this is the Calvinist attitude towards culture, which was not sympathetic to many expressions of literature and thought, especially in the more fanciful forms of the Oriental tale. However, as can be seen from the example of the theatre in the Dutch Republic, religious restrictions were often defied to create more space for secular forms of expression. Apparently, the lacklustre appreciation of the *Thousand and one nights* and its cognates was more due to the general situation of Dutch literature and the more inward-looking cultural atmosphere that prevailed at the time. In strictly academic circles, the *Nights* was deemed too frivolous for serious attention, and this led to a persistent reluctance to acquire French or Dutch translations for academic collections, for instance in Leiden. But at the same time, Leiden Orientalists also participated in the Republic of Letters, and they privately owned French editions of the *Nights*, but never a Dutch retranslation.

Still, inasmuch as Orientalism associated with the *Thousand and one nights* did appear in the Dutch Republic, it was similar to the European trends. This was reflected in the genre of the *Spectator* journals and the evaluation of the *Nights* as a quintessential example of Eastern storytelling, as opposed to more reserved literary forms considered more appropriate for European authors. Nevertheless, as elsewhere, the material of the *Nights* found its way into popular culture in the form of pantomimes and children's literature. That the interest in Shahrazad's tales did not die down is shown by several translations from German versions during the course of the nineteenth century, apart from several editions and anthologies for children. In these editions, the tradition of illustrations was further refined. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Dutch Orientalist Michaël Jan de Goeje was the first Dutch scholar to participate in the debates about the provenance and the philological aspects of the Arabic texts.

As a landmark of French literary prose, Galland's *Mille et une nuit* remained popular in its home country France, where it is still in print today. In the Netherlands, interest in retranslations or adaptations from Galland diminished in the nineteenth century but witnessed a certain revival in the twentieth century alongside the famous pastiche by J.-C. Mardrus. The first Dutch translation directly from the Arabic, however, only appeared in the last decade of the twentieth century.[1]

1 Richard van Leeuwen (transl.), *De vertellingen van duizend-en-één-nacht, geïllustreerd door Jean-Paul Franssens*, 14 vols, Amsterdam: Bulaaq, 1993-1999.



Appendix 1

Bibliographic survey of Dutch editions, 1705-1807

A: French-language editions

The Hague

Between 1705 and 1761, Pierre Husson from The Hague and his heirs printed seven French editions of the *Nights* under the uniform title '*Les mille et une nuit, contes arabes*. Traduits en François par Mr. Galland, de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Médailles'.[1] Only significant variants will be noted. The first and second editions do not exist. No single Husson edition contains the full range of parts 1-12. Several parts of one single edition were printed more than once. All editions contain frontispiece engravings by David Coster (c.1680-1752); for details see below, Appendix 2.

¶ 1. Troisiéme Edition, revûë et corrigée, Suivant la Copie imprimée à Paris. Tomes 1-6. A La Haye, Chez Pierre Husson, Marchand Libraire, au coin du Capel brug, 1705-1706.
The first edition by Pierre Husson (1678-1733). Description based on tome 3 (1706) [Leiden UB, MRIJKE 1566]. Tomes 1-2 of the same Leiden copy, dated 1705, have *Nuits* instead of *Nuit*, 'Suivant la Copie de Paris' instead of 'Suivant la Copie imprimée à Paris' and lack an imprint. 1 (1705); 2 (1705, 1706); 3-6 (1706).

¶ 2. Quatriéme Edition, revûë et corrigée, Suivant la Copie imprimée à Paris. Tomes 1-8. A La Haye, Chez Pierre Husson Marchand Libraire, au coin du Capel brug, 1707-1719.
The relatively early date of tomes 1 and 7 (1707) led to a slight irregularity in the chronological order of the subsequent editions. Description based on tome 7 (1707) [Leiden UB, MRIJKE 1566]. 1 (1707); 2 (1714); 3 (1714, 1719); 4 (1714); 5 (1715); 6 (1716); 7 (1707); 8 (1714).

1 The reconstruction of the various editions of the Husson family from The Hague is based on autopsy of the Leiden UB copy MRIJKE 1566 and the Hague KB copy KW 2210 E 15-20, and on an internet search of the following academic libraries in Finland, Germany, Norway and the United Kingdom (in alphabetical order of location): Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg; Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats-und Universitäts-bibliothek Dresden; Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg; Eutiner Landesbibliothek, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle; Helsingin Yliopiston Kirjasto; Universitätsbibliothek Kassel; Leeds University Library; Deutsche Nationalbibliothek Leipzig; Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster; Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart; Norges teknisk- naturvitenskapelige universitet, Gunnerus Biblioteket, Trondheim.

¶ 3. Cinquiéme Edition, revûë et corrigée. Tomes 1-8. A La Haye, Chez Pierre Husson Marchand Libraire, sur le Capelbrug, 1714-1743.
This edition dates basically from 1728-1729. The notice 'Suivant la Copie imprimée à Paris' is lacking. The address has changed from 'au coin du Capel brug' to 'sur le Capelbrug'. Description based on tome 8 (1728) [Leiden UB, MRIJKE 1566]. 1 (1714, 1728); 2 (1728, 1729); 3-4 (1729); 5-6 (1728); 7 (1719, 1729); 8 (1719, 1728, 1743).

¶ 4. Sixiéme Edition, revûë et corrigée. Tomes 1-7. A La Haye, Chez Jean Martin Husson, 1729-1746.
The first edition by Jean Martin Husson (1706-1746) or his widow Maria Korsendonk (d. 1790), although tome 1 (1729, not seen) must have been published by Pierre Husson. Tome 8 is lacking – the 5th ed. had been reprinted as late as 1743. No street address is mentioned. Description based on tome 2 (1746) [The Hague KB, KW 2210 E 15-20]. Tome 4 of the same The Hague KB set, dated 1746, has the imprint 'Chez la veuve Jean Martin Husson'. 1 (1729); 2-6 (1746); 7 (1731).

¶ 5. Septiéme Edition, revûë et corrigée. Tome 1. A La Haye, Chez Jean Martin Husson, 1746.
Last edition of tome 1 only by Jean Martin Husson (1706-1746) or his widow Maria Korsendonk (d. 1790). A replacement for tome 1 of the 6th ed., which had been published as early as 1729. Description based on tome 1 (1746) [The Hague KB, KW 2210 E 15-20]. 1 (1746).

¶ 6. [Unnumbered edition]. Par Mr. Galland, Professeur et Lecteur Royal en Langue Arabe et Antiquaire du Roi. Tomes 9-12. A La Haye, Chez Pierre Husson, Marchand Libraire, sur le Capel-brug, 1730-1731.
The first Husson edition of tomes 9-12. Together with the fifth edition, it formed a full set of 12 tomes. With different and more extensive academic titles of Antoine Galland. Description based on tome 9 (1730) [Leiden UB, MRIJKE 1566]. 9-11 (1730); 12 (1730, 1731).

¶ 7. Nouvelle Edition, revûë et corrigée. Par Mr. Galland, Professeur et Lecteur Royal en Langue Arabe et Antiquaire du Roi. Tomes 5-12. A La Haye, Chez Jean Mart. Husson, 1761-1762.
A 'new' edition of tomes 5-12 only by Maria Korsendonk (d. 1790), widow of Jean Martin Husson, but published under her husband's name. Description based on tome 5 (1761) [The Hague KB, KW 2210 E 15-20]. 5-9 (1761); 10 (1762); 11 (1761); 12 (1762).

Leiden

¶ 8. *Les mille et une nuit, contes arabes*. Traduits en François par Mr. Galland, Professeur et Lecteur Royal en Langue Arabe et Antiquaire du Roi. Tomes 1-12. Nouvelle Edition, revue et corrigée. A Leide, Chez J. de Wetstein et Fils, 1768.
'New' and complete re-edition of tomes 1-12 of the Husson text by Jacobus Wetstein (1706-before 1775) and his son Rudolph Hendrik (1741-c.1799). Contains the same plates by David Coster as the Husson editions, but his name has mostly been erased. Description based on tome 1, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz [50 MA 48857].

B: Dutch-language editions

Amsterdam

¶ 9. *De duysent en eene nacht, Arabische vertellingen*. Uyt het Frans vertaalt, door G.D.F. Parts 1-8. t'Amsterdam, By Hendrik Bosch, Boek-verkooper over 't Meisjens-Weeshuys, en te Leiden by Gillis Knotter, 1719-1725.
Published by Hendrik Bosch (active Amsterdam 1715-1729) and Gillis Knotter (active Leiden c.1713-1721). Parts published after 1721 by Bosch only. 'G.D.F.' is Gilbert de Flines (Amsterdam 1690 – London 1739). With a frontispiece engraving signed J[an] Lamsvelt (1674-1743) after David Coster. Description based on part 1 of the unique copy at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign [892.7 Ar1D1719]. Not in Buisman or Mateboer. 1 (1719); 2 (1720); 3 (1724); 4 (1719); 5-8 (1725).

¶ 10. *De duizent en eene nacht, Arabische vertellingen*. Uyt het Fransch vertaald, door G.D.F. [Parts 1-8]. t'Amsterdam, By Pieter Aldewerelt, Boekverkoper in de Wolve-straat, op de hoek van de Keyzers-gragt, 1738.
Published by Pieter Aldewerelt or Aldewereldt (active Amsterdam 1728-1739). Only part 1-2 in 1 vol. survive with an engraved frontispiece signed J[an] Lamsvelt after David Coster. Description based on the unique copy in University of Amsterdam Library [OTM: OK 63-4409]. An edition in 8 parts was advertised in the *Amsterdamse donderdaegse courant* of 16 October 1738, no 124 p. [2]. Not in Buisman; Mateboer 316.

¶ 11. [Title information unavailable. Part 9 only? Amsterdam, Isaak Spaan, 1742]. No copies attested. A 'newly printed' part 9 was advertised by Isaak Spaan (active Amsterdam 1742-1749), bookseller at the same address as Pieter Aldewerelt, in the *Leydse courant* of 20 August 1742, no 100. He also offered the other 8 parts for sale, most likely the remainder of the edition Aldewerelt 1738. Van Abkoude 1743, p. 16 (with the erroneous date 1724); Buisman 1704; not in Mateboer.

¶ 12. [Title information unavailable. Parts 1-9. Amsterdam, Steven van Esveldt, 1744].
No copies attested. Parts 1-9 were advertised by Steven van Esveldt (active Amsterdam 1735-1776), bookseller in the Beurssteeg, Amsterdam, in the *Leydse courant* of 24 August 1744, no 102. Van Abkoude 1745, p. 12; Not in Buisman or Mateboer.

¶ 13. *De duizend en ene nacht, Arabische vertellingen*. Uit het Fransch vertaalt. [Tweden druk], Merklyk verbetert, en vermeerdert, met drie Delen, die nooit tevoren in 't Nederduitsch vertaald geweest zyn. Parts 1-12 in 4 vols. Te Amsterdam, By Steven van Esveldt, Boekverkoper in de Kalverstraat, het derde Huis van de Roomsche Kerk de Papegaay, 1755.
The first complete Dutch translation in 12 parts by Van Esveldt, who has moved to new premises in Kalverstraat. Edition announced as 'tweden [...] druk' (second printing') in the foreword, sig. *2r, and as 'considerably revised and enlarged with three parts which have never been translated into Dutch before'. No translator(s) mentioned, but the first 8 parts are by Gilbert de Flines. With a new frontispiece engraving signed G[erard] Sibelius (Amsterdam 1734 – London 1785). Van Abkoude 1756, p. 6; Buisman 1705; Mateboer 317.

¶ 14. *De duizend en ene nacht, Arabische vertellingen*. Uit het Fransch vertaalt. Derde druk, Merkelyk verbetert [...]. Parts 1-12 in 4 vols. Te Amsterdam, By Steven van Esveldt [...], 1770.
The third Van Esveldt edition. Frontispiece as in the 2nd edition of 1755. Buisman 1706; Mateboer 318.

¶ 15. *De duysend en eene nacht, Arabische vertellingen*. Uit het Fransch vertaalt. Vierde druk, Merkelyk verbetert [...]. Parts 1-12 in 4 vols. Te Amsterdam, By Steven van Esveldt [..., c.1775].
The fourth and last Van Esveldt edition. Frontispiece as in the second edition of 1755. Undated, but most likely printed before Van Esveldt's death in 1776. Buisman 1707; Mateboer 320.

Southern Netherlands

¶ 16. *De duyzend en eenen nagt, Arabische vertellingen*. Parts 1-12. Tot Gend, By C.J. Fernand, Boek-drukker en Boek-verkoper, op den Reep, in S. Augustinus, 1788.
Translated by Jean-Baptiste Rommel (dates unknown). No frontispiece engraving. Vanderhaegen, *Bibliographie Gantoise*, no 5991; Mateboer 319.

¶ 17. *De duyzend en eenen nagt, Arabische vertellingen*. Parts 1-12. Tot Veurne, By H.J. Bonhomme, Boekdrukker en Verkooper, in d'Iper-straete, n.° 60, 1807.
Re-edition of Fernand 1788. No frontispiece engraving.

Appendix 2

The David Coster engravings

All Husson and Wetstein editions, appearing in The Hague or Leiden between 1705 and 1768, contain engraved frontispiece illustrations by David Coster (c.1680-1752), measuring c.11.5 x 6.5 cm. In all, six different engravings are known to exist:

¶ 1. Parts 1-4 of the composite Leiden copy MRIJKE 1566 contain the almost iconic representation of the frame story: Sultan Shahriyar sits upright in his canopied state bed (right). He is resting his head in his hand and his eyes look pensively into the distance, distracted as he is by the story told to him by Shahrazad, who sits next to him in bed *en déshabille*. To the left, half-hidden behind the bedcurtains, is her younger sister Dinarzad. In the background is a vaulted niche. The style of the architecture and decoration is late Baroque rather than Oriental; in fact, the emigré French architect and interior designer Daniel Marot might have created such a bedchamber for the *lever and coucher* of the king-stadtholder William III at Het Loo or Hampton Court. The colonnaded parapet is similar to the one in King Louis XIV's state bedchamber at Versailles. The only Oriental detail is the turban worn by the sultan.

¶ 2. From the fourth Husson edition onwards (1707-1719), parts 1-2 show a new and far more elaborate frontispiece,[1] with a reduced-size image of the earlier bedchamber scene as depicted in parts 1-4 of the third edition, surrounded by five little pictures. All images are set in an architectural composition known in book design as an *aediculum*, 'little building', crowned by a curved Classical pediment with the title *Les Mille et Une Nuit*.[2] Top left: the story of the Porter and the Ladies of Baghdad (part 1, p. 231 – part 2, p. 14);[3] top right: the Third Calender and the Flying Horse (part 2, pp. 161-247);[4] below left: the Fisherman and the Jinni (part 1, pp. 113-230);[5] below right: the story of the Greek King Younan and his Doctor Douban (part 1, pp. 131-164). At the bottom is a second illustration from the same story showing the moment of the doctor's execution.[6] It is this multi-image engraving that was to be adopted time and again in the Dutch retranslations.

1 We have not seen part 2 of the 4th edition.
2 Macdonald (1932), pp. 402, 405; Sironval (2005), p. 50; Irwin (2010), plate 3.
3 Chauvin (1892-1922), vol. 5, pp. 251-252, No. 148; Marzolph & Van Leeuwen (2004), vol. 1, pp. 324-326.
4 Chauvin (1892-1922), vol. 5, pp. 200-203, No. 117; Marzolph & Van Leeuwen (2004), vol. 1, pp. 340-341.
5 Chauvin (1892-1922), vol. 6, pp. 23-25, No. 195; Marzolph & Van Leeuwen (2004), vol. 1, pp. 183-184.
6 Chauvin (1892-1922), vol. 5, pp. 275-276, No. 156; Marzolph & Van Leeuwen (2004), vol. 1, p. 459; Sironval (2005), pp. 50-52.

¶ 3. Parts 5-6 contain a much more elaborate variant of the same bedchamber scene in mirror perspective, with the sultan on the left, Shahrazad in the centre and Dinarzad standing beside the bed on the right. The design of the bed is grotesque Baroque, with carefully detailed bedcurtains and counterpane, masks, vases, and a pair of heavy-breasted harpies with huge talons for bedposts. For added effect, they wear urns on the head. In the background is a monumental staircase.[7]

7 Sironval (2005), p. 49.

¶ 4. Parts 7-8 have the first illustration of a single story, Prince Beder of Persia (part 7, pp. 159-364). The image above shows the king of Khurasan on the right, with on the left Gulnare, Queen of the Sea, and in the middle their son Beder Basim. The small image below shows the people of the sea, who walk on the water towards the palace when summoned by Gulnare.[8]

8 Chauvin (1892-1922), vol. 5, pp. 147-151, No. 73; Marzolph & Van Leeuwen (2004), vol. 1, pp. 248-251; Sironval (2005), pp. 81-82; Irwin (2010), plate 7.

¶ 5. Parts 9-10 have a frontispiece showing the story of Aladdin and the Magic Lamp (part 9, p. 234 – part 10, p. 222). Aladdin stands on the left with the lamp in his hand. On the right is the jinni, summoned from the depths of the earth. He is depicted as a giant in tattered garments with straps around his arms and legs. In his hands he holds an enormous salver with food, the first thing Aladdin asks for. His mother has fallen into a swoon at the fearful sight of the jinni. The small picture above most likely represents the scene in which Aladdin prevents the consummation of the marriage between his beloved Princess Badroulboudour and the son of the Vizier. On two consecutive nights Aladdin orders the jinni to transport the bed with the newlyweds to his home. The boy spends the night standing in a latrine in his nightshirt. Aladdin takes his place at the girl's side, but he does not touch her. At daybreak the jinni takes the couple back to the palace and vanishes. In the morning the king and queen are dismayed to find their daughter *virgo intacta* together with her fiancé, both of whom have spent a very disagreeable night. In despair, the Vizier's son repudiates his bride, who is now free to marry Aladdin.[9]

9 Chauvin (1892-1922), vol. 5, pp. 55-67, No. 19; Marzolph & Van Leeuwen (2004), vol. 1, pp. 82-85; Sironval (2005), pp. 134-135; Irwin (2010), plate 9.

¶ 6. Parts 11-12 have an illustration of the story of Prince Ahmed and the fairy Paribanou (part 12, pp. 1-179). The fairy stands in the middle, with her husband Prince Ahmed on the right. By burning incense she conjures up her brother, the dwarf Schaibar, who in spite of his diminutive size is as strong as a giant, and who wields an enormous steel shaft as a weapon to destroy all those who stand in the way of the happiness of his sister and her husband.[10]

10 Chauvin (1892-1922), vol. 6, pp. 133-136, No. 286; Marzolph & Van Leeuwen (2004), vol. 1, pp. 80-82; Irwin (2010), plate 8.

Appendix 3

Text samples of the Dutch *Nights*

From 1719 onwards, the Dutch retranslation of Gilbert de Flines was gradually revised to adapt to new spelling conventions. The two editions from the Southern Netherlands (Ghent 1788 and Veurne 1807) were translated by the compositor Jean-Baptiste Rommel. From selected editions the first lines were taken from Galland's preface and the opening page of Part 1. For the edition numbers please see above, Appendix 1.

Edition ¶ 9 (Amsterdam: Bosch; Leiden: Knotter, 1719-1725)
Preface:

Het is niet van noode de / leeser voor te koomen / met de verdienste en / frajigheid van deese ver- / tellingen op te haalen. Sy brengen / hare aanbeveelinge met sig: Men / hoeft deselve maar te leesen om toe / te staan dat in deese soort men nooit / fraaijer tot nu toe gesien heeft in / een eenige Taale. /

Opening page:

De Jaarboeken van Sansa- / niêns, out Koning van Pers- / en, welke haar gebied uyt- / gebreid hadden in de Indiës, / op de Groote en kleene Ei- / landen die daar aanhooren, en wel ver / van Gange tot aan China, seggen, datter / eertyts was een Koning van dat mag- / tige Huys, welke was de aldertreffe- / lykste Vorst van zyn tyt. Hy maak- / te sig soo bemind by sijn Onderdanen / door zyn wysheid en voorsigtigheid, / welke sig hadde ontsaggelyk gemaakt / by zyne nabuuren door het gerucht van / zyn vermogen, en door de naam van / zyn wel geruchte krygs troepen. Hy /

Edition ¶ 10 (Amsterdam: Aldewereldt, 1738)
Preface:

Het is niet van node de Lee- / zer voor te komen, met / de verdienste en fraajig- / heit van deze vertellingen op te haa- / len. Zy brengen hare aanbeveelin- / gen met zig: Men hoeft dezelve maar / te leezen om toe te staan dat in deze / zoort men nooit fraaijer tot nu toe / gezien heeft, in een eenige Taale. /

Opening page:

De Jaarboeken van Sansani- / êns, out Koning van Persen, / welke haar gebied uitge- / breid hadden in de Indiës, / op de grote en kleine Eilan- / den die daar aanhooren, en / wel ver van Gange tot aan China, zeggen, / dat 'er eertyds was een Koning van dat / magtige Huis, welke was de aldertref- / felykste Vorst van zyn tyd. Hy maak- / te zich zo bemind by zijn Onderdanen / door zyn wysheid

en voorzichtigheid, / welke zich hadde ontzaggelyk gemaakt / by zyne nabuuren door het gerucht van / zyn vermoogen, en door de naam van / zijn wel geruchte krygstroepen. Hy /

Edition ¶ 13 (Amsterdam: Van Esveldt, 2nd ed., 1755)
Preface:
[–]
Opening page:
De Jaarboeken van Sansaniêns, oud ko- / ning van Persien, welke haar gebied / uitgebreid hadden in de Indiën, op de / grote en kleine eilanden die daar aan- / horen, en wel van Ganges tot aan / China, zeggen, dat 'er eertyds was / een koning van dat magtig huis, welke was de al- / lertreffelykste Vorst van zyn tyd. Hy maakte zich / zo bemind by zyn onderdanen door zyn wysheid en / voorzichtigheid, welke zich hadde ontzagchelyk ge- / maakt by zyne naburen door het gerucht van zyn / vermogen, en door de naam van zyn wel geregelde / krygstroepen. Hy hadde twee zonen, van welke /

Edition ¶ 14 (Amsterdam: Van Esveldt, 3rd ed., 1770)
Preface:
[–]
Opening page:
De Jaarboeken van Sansaniêns, oud ko- / ning van Persien, welke haar gebied / uitgebreid hadden in de Indiên, op de / grote en kleine eilanden die daar aan- / horen, en wel van Ganges tot aan / China, zeggen, dat 'er eertyds was een koning / van dat magtig huis, welke was de allertreffe- / lykste Vorst van zyn tyd. Hy maakte zich zo be- / mind by zyn onderdanen door zyn wysheid en / voorzichtigheid, welke zich hadde ontzagchelyk / gemaakt by zyne naburen door het gerucht van / zyn vermogen, en door de naam van zyn wel ge- / regelde krygstroepen. Hy hadde twee zonen, van /

Edition ¶ 15 (Amsterdam: Van Esveldt, 4th ed., c.1775)
Preface:
[–]
Opening page:
De Jaarboeken van Sansaniëns, oud ko- / ning van Persiën, welke haar gebied / uitgebreid hadden in de Indiën, op de / grote en kleine eilanden die daar aan- / horen, en wel van Ganges tot aan / China, zeggen, dat 'er eertyds was een koning / van dat magtig huis, welke was de allertreffe- / lykste Vorst van zyn tyd. Hy maakte zich zo be- / mind by zyn onderdanen door zyn wysheid en / voorzichtigheid, welke zich hadde ontzagchelyk / gemaakt by zyne naburen door het gerucht

van / zyn vermogen, en door de naam van zyn wel ge- / regelde krygstroepen. Hy hadde twee zonen, van /

Edition ¶ 16 (Gent: Fernand, 1788)

Preface:

Het is onnoodig den Lezer voor te komen / wegens de weerde en schoonheyd van de / Vertellingen die dit Werk inhoud: zy pryzen / zig zelf aen, en men behoefd ze maer te lezen, / om te bekennen dat 'er tot nu in deze soort niets / gezien is dat aen de zelve in fraeyheyd mag / vergeleken worden, in eenige Taelen. /

Opening page:

De Kronyken der Sassaniaenen, oude Konin- / gen van Persien, die hun Ryk hadden / uytgebreyd tot in Indiën, in de groote en kleyne / Eylanden die 'er van afhangen, en vry verre / over de Riviere de Ganges tot in China, ver- / haelen dat 'er eertyds eenen Koning uyt dit mag- / tig Huys gesproten is, die den uytmuntendsten / Vorst van zynen tyd was. Hy maekte zig zoo / wel bemind by zyne Onderdaenen, door zyne / wysheyd en voorzigtigheyd, als dat hy zig aen / de nabuerige Volkeren ontzaglyk had gemaekt / door het gerugt van zyne dapperheyd, en door / den roem van zyne strydbaere en wel geoeffende / Krygslieden. /

Appendix 4

French and Dutch quotations

A: French correspondence between Antoine Galland and Ghisbert Cuper, 1702-1705

Antoine Galland to Ghisbert Cuper, [end of August 1702]:

> Cet autre ouvrage dont j'ai l'honneur de vous parler, est intitulé: Les Mille et une nuit, Contes des arabes, mis en françois. L'original est en arabe, et je dis mis en françois par ce que ce n'est pas une version attaché précisément au texte, qui n'auroit pas fait plaisir aux lecteurs. C'est autant qu'il m'a été possible, l'arabe rendu en bon françois, sans m'être attaché servilement aux mots arabes. Ces contes sont de la nature de l'Asne d'Appulée, et de l'Histoire veritable de Lucien. Tout y est surprenant, merveilleux, et rempli de transformations d'hommes en différentes sortes d'animaux par enchantement. Les fées et les génies y ont un grand empire, et il y a une si grande diversité d'évènemens, et d'aventures, qu'il n'y a rien de semblable, ni même d'approchant dans nos anciens Romains. De mille et une nuit, il n'y en a que soixante et dix dans ce que je viens d'achever, ce qui peut vous faire juger de la longueur de l'ouvrage entier. Je n'ai qu'environ quatre ou cinq cents de ces nuits en cinq volumes arabes, qui me sont venus d'Halep, d'ou j'attens le reste. Voici en peu de mots quel est le dessein de ce grand ouvrage: Un sultan des Indes, mahométan, convaincu que la sultane son épouse lui avoit fait une infidélité, la fait mourir et se fait amener chaque nuit par le ministère de son Grand Vizir, une nouvelle femme des meilleures familles de ses sujets, et pour s'assurer de sa fidélité, la fait étrangler le lendemain par le ministère du même vizir. La fille de ce vizir, bien élévée, et très savante, pour désabuser le sultan d'une prévention si funeste, persuade à son père, nonobstant une forte opposition, de la lui présenter pour être son épouse. Le père se rend, et la conduit au sultan, de qui elle obtient de faire venir une soeur qu'elle avoit, sous prétexte de la voir pour la dernière fois. Cette soeur couche dans la même chambre, et le lendemain avant le jour, comme elles en estoient convenues, prie sa soeur couchée avec le sultan, de lui raconter un conte, en attendant que le jour paroisse, et le sultan le permet. Le jour paroissant avant le conte achevé, le sultan curieux d'en entendre la suite, mais obligé de se lever, tant pour faire la prière à la mahométane, que pour vasquer aux affaires de l'estat, suspend sa cruauté jusqu'au lendemain. De nuit en nuit la nouvelle sultane le meine jusques à mille et une, et l'oblige, en la laissant vivre, de se défaire de la prevention où il étoit généralement contre toutes les femmes.

> Je pourrai continuer cette entreprise toujours par divertissement, si le public fait une bonne reception à cette première partie qui servira comme d'essai. M. Foucault en a une bonne opinion, et des dames d'esprit de cette ville, à qui j'en ai fait la lecture en sont charmées. Mais c'est vous entretenir de contes trop longtemps.[1]

Ghisbert Cuper to Antoine Galland, 13 October 1702:

> Le roman arabe dont vous parlez, aura sans doute sa beauté; et j'y vois desjà des hautes idées et sublimes expressions dont cette nation et toutes les orientales se sont servy et se servent encore aujourd'hui. Je ne doute pas que ce livre soit bien reçu dans un siècle où on aime fortement les nouveautez, et principalement parce que vous le mettez en bon françois, sans vous attacher trop aux expressions arabes. Mais je ne sçay si toutes les dames qui le louent trouveront bon laisser amuser une bonne partie de la nuit un sultan, et l'obliger ainsi de se lever sans autre cérémonie par mille et un jour, pour vaquer aux affaires de l'estat.[2]

Antoine Galland to Ghisbert Cuper, 30 October 1704:

> Ces contes, qui paroissent sous le titre de Mille et une nuit, sont assez bien reçus à la Cour à Paris, et dans les provinces, aussi bien par les messieurs que par les dames. On n'auroit pas le mesme empressement pour d'autres ouvrages que j'aurois pu faire imprimer il y a longtemps, et qui ne le seront peut-estre jamais. Pour revenir à ces contes, qui sont amusans et divertissans, on peut dire qu'ils peuvent servir à se consoler de la perte des Fables Milésiennes qui n'ont pu venir jusqu'à nous. Ils sont assez anciens, et la communication qu'il y a eu de ces pays avec le Levant, du tems des Croisades, a fait que les auteurs de vieux romans en ont tiré beaucoup de choses.[3]

Antoine Galland to Ghisbert Cuper, 5 December 1704:

> Ma traduction des contes arabes sera bien honnorée quand vous aurez le commodité de les lire. Je puis vous assurer que nos premiers magistrats ne dédaignent pas de se délasser par leur lecture. Ce ne sont pas des amourettes, mais des intrigues dont on a une grande impatience de trouver le dénouement. Avec cela, on y voit au naturel des portraits très ressemblants, des peuples du Levant, leur vie, leurs moeurs, et leurs coutûmes. Ainsi, l'on a le plaisir de se trouver pour ainsi dire, parmi eux, sans estre fatigué du voiage, comme je l'ai remarqué dans l'avertissement, et de les connoistre

1 The following transcripts of letters exchanged between Antoine Galland and Ghisbert are based on Abdel-Halim (1964a); for the present edition we have compared the transcripts with the original letters kept in MS The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Correspondentie van Gisbert Cuper, classmark 72 G 4-6; for the present letter, see Abdel-Halim (1964a), No. CLXXXV, p. 436.

2 Ibid., No. CLXXXVII, p. 439.

3 Ibid., No. CXCIX, pp. 466-467.

beaucoup mieux, que par les relations de nos voyageurs. L'impression de 5e. volume doit estre achevée présentement, et le 6e. est prest à mettre sous la presse. J'en suis au 7e.[4]

Ghisbert Cuper to Antoine Galland, 16 April 1705:

L'on a imprimé à Amsterdam vos Contes arabes, ou Mille et une nuit. J'en ay lû quelques unes avec un assez grand plaisir. Mais il faut que je dise que les arabes ayent l'imagination bien forte, de pouvoir entasser mensonge sur mensonge; et je m'étonne comment un homme peut estre capable de trouver tant de fables qui n'ont et n'auront jamais aucune vraysemblance. L'on disoit des anciens Grecs et Romains Deus ex machina, quand ils introduisoient quelque divinité dans leurs pièces de théatre pour sortir de l'embaras, [...]. Mais l'on peut avec de plus fortes raisons appliquer ce proverbe à l'autheur des Mille et une nuit, à cause qu'il introduit à tous momens les fées qui changent toutes choses, et qui entrent partout embellir ces contes grotesques et pour donner dans des extravagances. Le principal qui m'en plaist, est que l'autheur a sçu introduire une fille, qui par cette jolie invention de ne finir pas ses narrations a pû se guarantir de la mort, et enflammer toutes les matinées la curiosité d'un roy qui avoit desjà sacrifié à sa jalousie et à son courroux tant de belles.

Ce livre est sans doute un grand amusement pour le beau sexe; elles ne se lasseront pas à lire ces aventures bizarres, et leur curiosité sera au moins aussi grande que celle de ce roy imaginaire.

L'on me dit que ce livre trouve dans ces pays plus de lectrices, pour parler ansi, que des lecteurs; je n'en suis pas étonné, et l'on sçait assez que la curiosité du sexe va bien plus loin que celle des hommes.[5]

Antoine Galland to Ghisbert Cuper, 10 July 1705:

Je m'estois douté que les Contes arabes vous plairoient, et je suis bien aise que pour en lire quelque chose, vous aiez desrobé quelques momens du tems que vous emploiez plus utilement. Je n'y admire pas moins que vous la force de l'imagination des Arabes, et la variété de leurs fictions, beaucoup plus hardies que les fictions d'Homère. Le sixième volume commençoit de paroistre dans le tems que je suis parti de Paris pour revenir à Caen. J'apprens qu'on n'en est pas moins content que des autres volumes. On demande desjà le septième: il est prest; mais j'ai encore à le revoir, et je ne crois pas qu'il doive paroistre avant la fin de la campagne, à cause du peu de monde qu'il y a à la cour, et à la ville. Cette solitude n'accommode pas le libraire: car, nos officiers avec nos magistrats, ne s'en font pas moins un divertissement que les dames. Ce qu'il y a, c'est que cet ouvrage de fariboles, me fait plus d'honneur dans le monde, que ne le feroit le plus bel ouvrage que je

4 Ibid., No. CCI, pp. 473-474.

5 Ibid., No. CCX, pp. 492-493.

pourrois composer sur les médailles, avec des remarques pleines d'érudition, sur les antiquités grecques et romaines. Tel est le monde. On a plus de penchant pour ce qui divertit, que pour ce qui demande de l'application, si peu que ce puisse estre.[6]

B: French correspondence between Christoph Martin Wieland and Rijklof Michaël van Goens

Christoph Martin Wieland to Rijklof Michaël van Goens, 21 August 1769:

Pardon, Mr., de cette digression qui m'a fait perdre de vue ce qui fait le sujet principal de votre letter; c'est votre raisonnement sur les Poëmes de Chevallerie et de Féerie. Je l'ai lû et relû avec un Plaisir infini, et quoiqu' il me semble que Milord Bacon en parlant de la poésie et du Plaisir que nous donne la 'fiction', ait dit quelque chose d'approchant du principe d'ou vous parlés, personne avant vous a si bien developpé ce principe par rapports aux divers genres de merveilleux, encore moins s'appliqué a rechercher la cause de ce singulier phenomène, dont vous me paroissés avoir trouvé la veritable solution, je veux dire, du gout Presque universel que même les personnes raisonnables et éclairées ont pour les ouvrages de Féerie, p.e. pour les Mille et Une Nuits, etc., et de la mauvaise honte qui fait Presque tout le monde rougit d'avouer ce même gout. Je voudrois pouvoir vous persuader de communiquer vos reflexions sur cette matière au public.[7]

C: Rijklof Michaël van Goens' *Reflections of the Artless Philosopher* (1766)

'[491] Terwijl Europa door een dikke nevel van onwetendheid als bezwalkt was, bloeide het Verhael in het Oosten. Arabie zoo wel als in Persie leverde vernuften op, die in dit soort uitmuntten – De Vertellingen der eersten, in duizend en eene nacht verdeeld, zijn doorluchtige blyken van hunne paelloze verbeeldings kracht. Terwijl andere volkeren zich alleen uitstrekken tot het geen wezenlijk in de Natuer bestaet, doet de bygeloovigheid van deze natie hunne verbeelding gaen over alles wat immer uitgedacht kan worden. En, zonder de vergelyking te ver te trekken, gelijk een Engelsch Treurspel niet behaegt zonder lyken, zoo wordt ook geen Arabiesch Verhael fraei gehouden zonder heksen.' Shakespear is vol van vreemde verschyningen en ongehoorde toveryen: Miltons duivelen zijn zomtijds ook al

6 Ibid., No. CCXVI, pp. 500-501.

7 Christoph Martin Wieland to Rijklof Michaël van Goens, 21 August 1769, in: De Beaufort (1884-1890), vol. 1, p. 378.

vry belachelijk: en de kardinael d'Esté hadt reden om tot Ariosto te zeggen, *dove diavolo avete pigliato tante coglionerie*? Maer de verbeeldingskracht van dezen drie zamen genomen, met alle sprookjes die immer eenig Europe- [492] aansch oud wijf van spoken en verschijnselen heeft uitgedacht, komen noch in geene vergelyking met het geen men in de Arabische Nachtvertellingen vindt (*b*). En met dat al verdienen dezelven ten hoogsten gelezen te worden, om de eigenaerdige voorstelling, juiste aeneenschakeling, en wonderbaerlyke ontwinding der in een gewikkelste gevallen: waer by komt een kracht en vurigheid van uitdrukking, die te gelijk met hunne verbeelding haren oorsprong verschuldigd is aen den invloed der luchtstreek en losbandige levenswijs dezer natie.
Gelyk de Persianen meer beschaefd zijn in hunne zeden, zoo zijn ook hunne Vertellingen beschaefder dan die der Arabieren. Alles is wel vol van toveryen, verschijnselen en gedaentenwisselingen, doch hunne verbeelding is veel minder dol en buitensporig. En de Derviesch Mocles die opsteller is der duizend en eene dag Persiaensche Vertellingen overtreft de Arabische schryvers ver in geleerdheid en zedenkunde: ja het staet my voor, dat hy Plato, Hippocrates, en noch eenige andere Grieken gelezen heeft, die in 't voorby gaen aengehaeld worden.
[p. 493] Eindelijk ten derden heeft men zelfs verhaelen die van den Ganges hunnen oorsprong hebben. Locman, een Indiaensch wijsgeer, schreef een werk 't geen te gelijk Fabelen en Verhalen vervat: zijn verbeeldingskracht is wel ongelijk minder buitensporig dan de vorigen, maer teffens ook zoo vruchtbaar en levendig niet. En een zijner grootste fouten is dat de Verhalen als nesten doosjes (*c*) in elkander zitten. Een vogel vermaent hare jongen, en ondertusschen schiet haer een geval in dat hier by toepaslijk is, de jongen verzoeken haer om het zelve te weten, en dit brengt haer weder een ander te binnen, dit wederom een ander, en zoo tot vijf ja zes malen toe: een gebrek 't geen de Arabische en Persische schrijvers ook wel hebben, doch zoo sterk niet, en 't geen by hun minder stuit om dat hunne verhalen langer zijn, en den lezer meer belang doen nemen, dan die van Lokman, 't geen den draed der geschiedenis by gevolg ook zoo kort niet afbreekt.

(*b*) *Ondertusschen zijn er eenige gebeurtenissen in, die in den grond waer gehouden worden: by voorbeeld eenige daden van Haroun Alraschid. De Turksche en Arabische geschiedschryvers, die veel met dezen Kaliph op hebben, bevestigen 't geen van zijn beleid, dapperheid en goed toezicht in de* Nachtvertellingen *verhaeld wordt.*

(*c*) *Een gelykenis van den grooten Is.*[*aac*] *Watts, die hy gebruikt van de herhaelde* parenthesen *of tusschenredenen.'* [8]

8 [Rijklof Michaël van Goens], 'Bedenkingen van den philosophe sans fard: over den staet der letteren in Nederland [...]', *Nieuwe bydragen tot opbouw der vaderlandsche letterkunde* 2 (1766), pp. 453-506, here 491-493.

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